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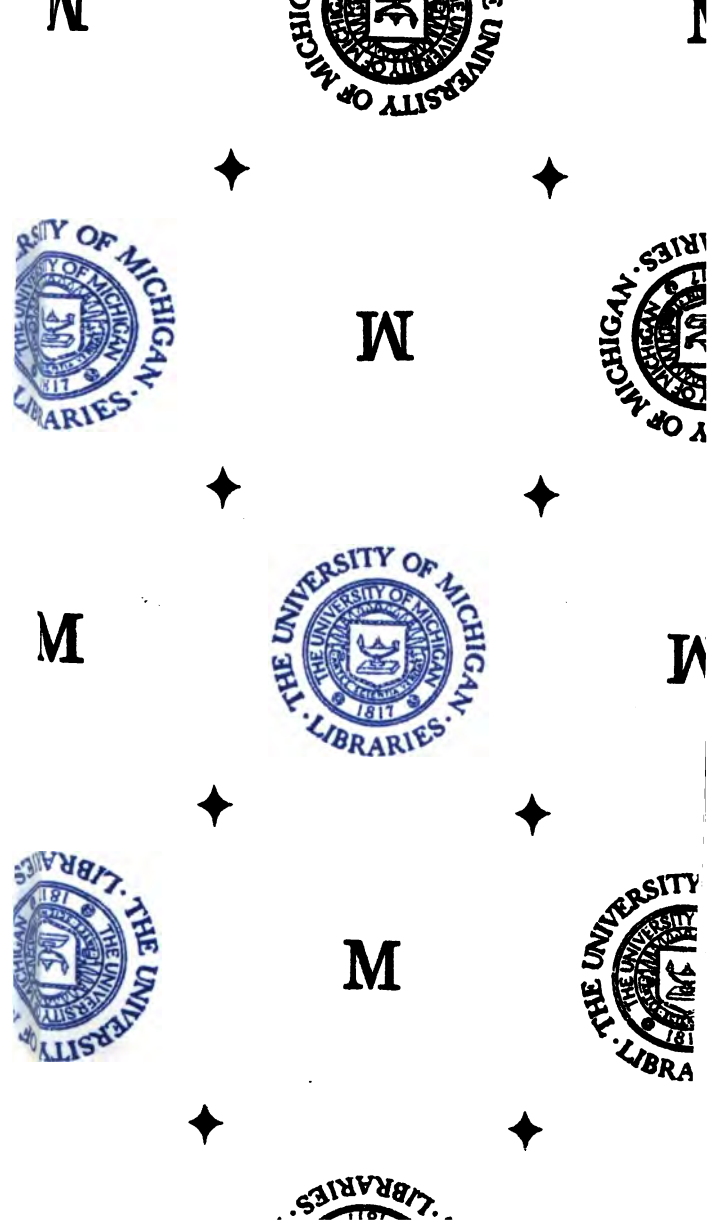

Ligne, Charles Joseph, prince de,
1735-1814

MEMOIRS

OF

PRINCE EUGENE,

OF SAVOY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

WILLIAM MUDFORD,

AND CONTAINING ALL THOSE OMISSIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DETECTED IN THE RECENT PARISIAN EDITIONS.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED FOR EZRA SARGEANT,

[redacted] 26 BROADWAY.

1811.

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Gift
Mr. Bernard Uhlendorf
12-10-64

PREFACE

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THOUGH I should be far from seeking to deprecate the severity of criticism by the usual cant of literary delinquents, I think it a justice which I owe to myself to state, that the following Translation was begun, carried on, and completed, in intervals of a painful disorder, which left me little opportunity for the exertion of mental vigour, and which necessarily retarded the appearance of the work. Let this be some palliation of any negligences which may have escaped me: the *mens sana* is seldom possessed but in the *corpore sano*.

I have sometimes, also, and very naturally, been in doubt respecting the exact signification of military terms: where such has been the case, I have preferred using the French expressions, that they who

know better than myself may not be misled by my ignorance.

The language of PRINCE EUGENE I have not always found perspicuous, whether arising from any obscurity of his own, or from any inaccuracy in copying his manuscript for the press. As often as I met with a passage that was not exactly intelligible, I have endeavoured to make it so in the translation, by a careful consideration of the context.

W. M.

Jan. 26, 1811.

Advertisement of the Bookseller

TO THE

FRENCH EDITION.

IT would be superfluous to enter, here, into any praises of the Memoirs of Prince Eugene: they will recommend themselves: and besides, we will leave them to biographers who are accustomed to discuss such topics. We shall confine ourselves to observing, that the edition, which we now offer to our readers, has the merit of being purged from the numerous faults which disfigured that of Weimar, published by the Office of Industry in 1809. We have corrected the names of persons, towns, rivers, &c. according to the best historical and geographical dictionaries: we have rectified innumerable errors of punctuation,* which totally altered the sense, and injured a production

* Many, notwithstanding, still remain.—*Trans.*

so curious and original. In short, without seeking to correct the style of Prince Eugene, who did not intend to write a book, we have sometimes, though rarely, felt the necessity of changing a few words, the repetition of which, too near each other, would have disgusted the reader.

PREFACE

TO THE

WEIMAR EDITION.

(1809.)

ALL those who have known Vienna, know that the Count de Canales was the Sardinian minister there, during near thirty years. One of his daughters married there the Count de Hardegg, the *Grand-veneur*, and one or two others were Canonesses. During the time which elapsed between the death of Prince Eugene, and the arrival of the Count de Canales, a niece of Prince Eugene's married the Prince de Hildbourghausen ; she was heiress to her uncle, had an excellent house, and maintained almost a small court in that garden of the Prince, which is now called *La Belvedére.* The Count de Canales was presented to her the day after his arrival ; she soon attached

herself to him, not only as the minister of the King her cousin, but also, as a very amiable, and well instructed man, and one who always sought to be more so; the Memoir of Prince Eugene being yet fresh, many of its expressions, anecdotes, and characters, were floating in society.

The Count de Canales collected all with avidity. An editor, of the modern species, who abuses the credulity of the living, by putting words into the mouth of the dead, would have a fine field for his talent in making the Count say all that he might himself wish. I know not whether the Count de Canales wrote what he had learned by a very recent tradition; but nothing was found in his papers. It was in those of another, that what is now going to be read was found, and this was the manner:

The Princess of Hildbourghausen, after having related to him a variety of things respecting her uncle, said to him, "As to warlike matters, you must excuse "me from them. Here is a small abridg-

"ment, written partly in the Prince's own "hand, in the period between his last cam- "paign, and his death. Do not keep it: "read it with attention, and return it to "me again."

I believe the Count de Canales was in no hurry to do this. One thing is certain, that the MS. was still in his hands, when the Princess died, about the year 1752 or 1753.

For a long time there was nothing said about it; he lent it, and it was returned to him. The general of cavalry, Count de O'Donel, uncle, *à-la-mode de Bretagne*, to Count O'Donel, who is at present at Vienna, told me, that he had read it.

During more than twenty years, the Count de Canales passed all his evenings with the celebrated Metastasio, and the Baron de Hagen, who died president of the Aulic Council, about seven or eight years ago. Sometimes they were occupied with the classics, and sometimes they discoursed upon whatever was pleasing in the literature and languages with which they were acquainted.

A friend of Montesquieu's, the Abbé Guasco, as a Piedmontese, and a man of letters, was admitted, when he returned from Paris, or from Tournay, where he had a canonry, to the evenings of the Count de Canales. One day, when they were discoursing upon history, the conversation turned upon Prince EUGENE: "Here," said the Count de Canales, "is "what I have collected of his private and "military life; you shall hear it, but not "take it away. I will not show you the "Prince in his morning gown; but I will "display him to you in his helmet and cui-"rass," said he, addressing himself to the Abbé de Guasco, "for the instruction of "your brother: let him study him; he "will need it, as he has been appointed "quarter-master-general in the army of "Marshal Daun."—Consequently, this conversation must have taken place in the month of February, 1757.

Many persons, who are still alive, can certify the truth of what I advance, and particularly that of the dates: for I am particularly exact upon that point. There

is one to whom I will venture to appeal if he be alive, as I hope he is: for he recovered from a severe illness about two years ago, at Moron, a small town in the Tyrol, whither, driven from Italy, I had conveyed my small baggage, there to pass my miserable existence and my emigration. If he be dead, his daughter is not: they had promised to make her canoness of Halle. She will not refuse to testify all that I have advanced here: for she was present at all my conversations with her respectable father, in his ninety-second year, M. de Ferraris, formerly aide-de-camp to the general of infantry, Count de Guasco.

The reader now begins to see the genealogy of what I have printed, and how it has happened to be given to the world. Want of money on my part, a long existing military curiosity, gratitude for my attentions on his side, and the indifference of a dying man to all that is passing round him, procured me the possession of this invaluable gift, which he presented to me with a voice scarcely

audible. Besides, there was nothing to be sold in a small town of the Tyrol : no purchasers ! This good man gave, or permitted to be taken, every thing. Some of his old friends, retired officers like himself, fixed upon his books ; an Austrian general, employed at Inspruck, upon his maps : and I, though I did not expect to have armies to command, possessed myself of a manuscript, the title of which was precious to me. It was written in a long and small hand, the authenticity of which may be testified by looking at his signature in the Aulic Council of War, at Vienna.

Further, only the conversations which he had with various individuals, the reflexions, and the last year, are in his own hand-writing. It appears that he dictated the rest to a secretary.

This Major Ferraris was a man of great merit, who possessed the confidence of his general, whose dangers he participated, and whose labours he assisted at the siege of Schweidnitz in 1762. He repaired thither the more willingly, because he of-

ten succeeded in restoring harmony between M. de Guasco and M. de Gribeauval, a celebrated French engineer, on those occasions of disagreement which so often happen between commanders, the limits of whose authority are hardly ever accurately defined: and he inherited all the plans and books of his general, when he died a prisoner, one or two years afterwards, I believe, at Konigsberg. The depositary of this manuscript, I have placed it in the hands of *George Conrad Waldburg*, a bookseller and printer at Klagenfurth, where any one may see and consult the writing of Prince Eugene, and thus testify its authenticity. This is the acknowledgment which I received from him for this invaluable manuscript.

"I acknowledge, with gratitude, that "Mr. N——, a French emigrant officer, "has placed this manuscript of Prince "Eugene, in my possession.

"GEORGE CONRAD WALDBURG.
"*Klagenfurth, the 1st of January*, 1807."

I know not whether some persons in the Prince's service, did not take a copy of this excellent work, which served as the basis of a history that was reprinted at Vienna, by *Briffant*, in 1777. There is mention made in the preface, of some manuscripts that had been found at Vienna: and this was probably among the number. I know not what the author meant by these words: " I could avail " myself of what had been written by " Prince Eugene in the German language." Did he mean to say, or did he wish it to be believed, that the Prince wrote in German? I have already proved, that he did not know it enough for that. I believe it was a *Mr. Lazzay*, who was the author or printer of a history in five volumes, or a *Mr. Rousset*.

There is perceptible, however, in the style of the Prince, a military air which coincides well with his actions and character. Another proof of the authenticity of this manuscript, is the tautologies of an old man; the repetitions, which an author could not commit; the negligences,

which do not belong to a man of letters: while there is nothing which does not agree with the soldier: a tone which would ill become another, but which is pardonable in a military man; not always excellent, and sometimes too familiar. His style, such as it is, is clear and concise, like his conversation, as the Prussian general, Lentulus told me, who had retired to Neufchatel, where he died at a very advanced age. He served under him in his last campaign on the Rhine, whither he accompanied the great Frederic, then Prince Royal. These are sufficient facts, dates, and names, all of which may be testified: mine only shall be wanting.

THE

PREFACE

OF

PRINCE EUGENE.

THERE are, as I have been told, many Italian and German manuscripts respecting me, which I have neither read nor written. A panegyrist, whose name is DUMONT, has printed a large folio volume, which he calls, *My Battles*. This gentleman is sufficiently turgid: he ingratiates himself at the expense of Turenne, who, according to his assertion, would have been taken at Cremona, in 1703, or killed at Hochstet, in 1704, if he had been opposed to me.—What stuff!

Some future historians, good or bad, will perhaps take the trouble to enter into the details of my youth, of which, I scarcely recollect any thing. They will certainly speak of my mother; somewhat too intriguing indeed, driven from the court, exiled from Paris, and suspected, I

believe, of sorcery, by persons who were not, themselves, very great conjurors. They will tell, how I was born in France, and how I quitted it, my heart swelling with enmity against Louis XIV. who refused me a company of horse, because, said he, I was of too delicate a constitution; and an abbey, because he thought, (from I know not what evil discourse respecting me, or false anecdotes current in the gallery of Versailles,) that I was more formed for pleasure than for piety. There is not a Huguenot, expelled by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, who hated him more than I did. Therefore, when Louvois, hearing of my departure, said, "so much "the better; he will never return into this "country again,"—I swore never to enter it, but with arms in my hands. I HAVE KEPT MY WORD.

I have penetrated into it on many sides, and it is not my fault that I have not gone further. But for the English, I had given law in the capital of the *Grand Monarque*, and made his MAINTENON shut herself up in a convent for life.

A SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF PRINCE EUGENE.

(1683.)

THE Court was never more melancholy than in this year. It was that of the devotion of Louis XIV. for the loss of his two sons, the Count de Vexin, the Duke de Vermandois, Colbert, and the Queen.

His Most Christian Majesty who, before he turned to devotee, assisted the Christians in 1664 against the Infidels, becoming afterwards a very pious man, excited them against the Emperor, and aided the Rebels of Hungary. But for him neither of them would ever have reached the gates of Vienna. To maintain

appearances, he did not venture to prohibit, entirely, the young Princes of the blood from going and distinguishing themselves in that war. I accompanied them, tired of being called the *little abbé of Louis XIV.* He had some regard for me, and probably he refused me the abbey from conscientious motives. I cared neither for the success of the church, nor of the court. I had enough of society; but I wished to follow the war. In short, at twenty years of age, behold me in the service of Leopold I. without his knowing it. He had fled from his capital, both at the siege and at the battle of Vienna. I was of opinion, at first, that it would be better to attach myself to the Duke of Lorraine, and to Prince Louis of Baden, rather than to the two electors of Bavaria and Saxony, to learn my trade. They both kept me in constant action, from one attack to another, and carrying orders into the hottest parts of the battle.

I had been told that the Duke of Lorraine never employed, during the time of action, any but generals to convey or even

to alter an order, if he needed it. I was duly sensible of the honour therefore, and he appeared satisfied with me. The confusion of this day can only be confusedly narrated. Sobiesky celebrated mass with his arms folded like a cross, in the church of Leopoldsberg. The Poles, who had climbed up thither, I know not why, descended like fools, and fought like lions.

The Turks, who were encamped on the spot where I threw up my lines in 1703, not knowing which way to front, having neglected the heights, conducted themselves like ideots.

The Emperor returned. I was presented to him. Not being yet familiar with German manners, I was much amused at his haughty interview with the king of Poland. As a volunteer, I was among the foremost in the pursuit of the Turks.

We performed this with great celerity; and, for my recompense, Kuffstein being dead, they gave me his regiment of dragoons on the 11th December. For three months after this great victory, I was the happiest of men, and I continued to serve under the Duke of Lorraine.

(1684.)

After having taken, with him, Vicegrad, Gran, and Weitzen, and sustained a glorious combat near this last place, we had a more desperate one near the Isle of St. Andre. They say that I performed a very skilful manœuvre at the head of my regiment, which entirely routed the Turks. They cut them down at pleasure. The Duke of Lorraine had secured his centre by a marsh, his left by the Danube, and his right by an inaccessible mountain.

Behold us at the siege of Buda. Many sanguinary *sorties* by eighteen thousand men. In the meanwhile, twelve thousand arrive (twice or thrice our number) to attack us. The Duke is eager to beat them, and has the goodness to write to the Emperor that I contributed the most towards the execution of that design. Prince Louis of Baden devoured me with caresses.

The siege was carried on vigorously. It was there I received my first wound, a ball through the arm, while inspect-

ing the trench by the side of the Prince of Salm.

It was thought that the moment for a general assault had arrived; but it did not succeed: each attack was repulsed. There was some sort of misunderstanding between the principal generals. This often happens through their partisans. In short, after having lost thirty thousand men, the Duke of Lorraine raised the siege on the 1st of November.

They reasoned and they raved at Vienna. It was for want of good engineers, said one: no, said another, it was owing to the knavery of Guido Stahrenberg, who had advised against the siege. A third talked of the malice of the commissariat or of ministers, who withheld every thing that was most necessary from the besiegers, in order to weaken the authority of the Duke of Lorraine, of whom they were jealous. As for myself, quite an insignificant person as yet, and thus upon good terms with every one, (which is more particularly the case when we are very young,) I preserved the friendship

of both my masters, Lorraine and Baden, though the latter was at enmity with the former, seconded by the Elector, who was no less attached to me; and I went to pass the winter at Vienna, where I was received with remarkable distinction.

(1685.)

The marriage of an arch-duchess with the Elector of Bavaria retarded the opening of the campaign. Excellent reason! The Duke of Lorraine went to examine Novigrade. The princes of the blood of France and Lorraine and volunteers in their train, who arrived from Paris, mingled with the escort. There they were to irritate the spahis with the pistol in their hands; and French heads fell beneath the sabres of the Turks. I saved the rest with my dragoons, whom I brought up most opportunely. Delighted to find myself among all those young men, my former friends, and too young myself to scold them, I did nothing; but the Duke of Lorraine attacked them. He rated them soundly, though approving, in the bottom of his heart, the

fine and noble courage of his cousins, Commerci and Thomas de Vaudemont, who afterwards served under me with so much celebrity.

After remaining a month entrenched before Neuhausel, as it was intended to make the assault by the covered way, information was brought that a Serasquier had arrived with sixty thousand men; that he had retaken Vicegrad, and that he was besieging Gran. We marched thither immediately, and he raised the siege at the approach of the Duke of Lorraine, who had left Caprara before Neuhausel. But here was the consequence.

The Serasquier took up a most excellent position. The Duke had him informed, by some persons of the country, that he had only twenty-thousand men, and that he was retreating half dead with fear. The good Turk believed it. The Duke halted in a fine position. I was in the centre, under the Prince of Baden with my dragoons dismounted. The elector of Bavaria commanded the left, the Duke the right, in the front of which the

brave but rash and hot-headed youths, of whom I have already spoken, obtained, with much difficulty, permission to range themselves in a small squadron. They anticipated the Turks, who attacked them furiously and with horrid yells: but they were surrounded, and relieved by our cuirassiers. The Duke himself supported them, and his wing was victorious, as was also that of the Elector of Bavaria; so likewise was the centre under the command of Prince Louis, where I seconded him to my utmost. The Prince of Hanover and the Count de la Lippe drove the Turks head over heels into a marsh. It was three or four important battles in one. The Serasquier was wounded in the thigh: he tore out the arrow, because he was obliged to flee.

We were once more before Neuhausel, on the 19th of August. The breach was made. Commerci followed the young volunteers, who appeared the first at the entrance which had been effected, and planted, with the Baron d'Asti, the imperial standard. The Pacha and the gar-

rison were massacred. The Seratquier burned and ravaged Novigrade, Vicegrad, and Weitzen: and, for myself, I set off to pass the winter at Vienna.

(1686.)

It was then the Prince of Baden, taking me by the hand, said to the Emperor, "Sire, here is a young Savoyard——." The rest my modesty forbids me to repeat. The trick of the preceding year made them take care of this one; we were admirably supplied. On the 13th of June we began the siege, the Prince of Baden and myself, under the Elector of Bavaria. We all attacked an important fortress, and rendered ourselves masters of it.

On the 26th of July we endeavoured to make a breach, from this fortress, in the castle of Buda: we expected to succeed; but it was no such thing. Thirty thousand Turks issued out from it: I had a horse killed under me. Twice we penetrated, sword in hand, into the interior of the castle; twice we were re-

pulsed. Prince Louis and myself were wounded; a Stahrenberg, a Herberstein, and a Kaunitz, were killed! and we were obliged to defer the general assault to another day. Unfortunately I was not of the number that day. I was employed to protect the lines, which were threatened by a numerous army,—a post of confidence indeed as they told me. But the cursed Grand Vizier, quiet on a height, not daring to attack me, (I know not why,) beheld, with more coolness than I did, this most important place taken and sacked before his face.

Prince Louis and myself went, by order of the Duke of Lorraine, to take Cinq-Eglises, Calocza, Simonthorna, Kaposwar, and Sicklos; and afterwards to burn, at Eoseck, the bridge, which was about six thousand paces in length by twenty-four in breadth. The army went into winter-quarters.

I went to pass the Carnival at Venice with my dear youths, the volunteers and the French princes, together with almost all the other princes who were in our army, and a great number of generals.

While there, almost all of them became amorous: the Duke of Mantua, indeed, worse than that, for he was quite a libertine. I was neither one nor the other, however: and was much amused with seeing this prince as brave among the Venetians as he was cowardly among the Turks.

The Elector of Bavaria was so tender, that he would have disgusted me with being so, had I been inclined to it. This fickleness of heart had an influence upon the fickleness of his mind and opinions respecting whatever party he adhered to; and I judged from that time, (nor was I wrong in my judgment,) that important amours are insipid and ridiculous, only fit for idlers; and meaner ones have too little glory in them.

Morisini treated us admirably. Every day there were magnificent and charming entertainments, both on land and on the water. I saw women there more enterprising than generals. As every thing has an end, however, I went to pass the rest of the bad season at Vienna.

(1687.)

It was in this year that the Duke of Lorraine crushed the enemies of Jesus Christ, and those which he had in the army and at the court, among whom I was not, though on the best terms with the Elector and Prince Louis, who were of the party against him. The Duke marched towards the Grand Vizier to attack him. His prudence was no less conspicuous than his valour. He availed himself of both. Being too far advanced, considering the excellent position of the Turks, (for they fell back greatly at first,) he did not blush to retreat. That is a ticklish business in the sight of those devilish people. I covered, with my dragoons, the march of the rear guard; and I preserved them untouched, by charging, several times, the spahis, who annoyed me very much. At the end of some time the matter became more serious. Ligneville, Thungen, Zinzendorff, were killed. The Duke of Lorraine formed himself

ably and luckily, with his wings well supported, near Mount Hersan. The Duke of Mantua, who ascended the mount, saw, in perfect safety, the whole of the battle in that plain of Mohatz where king Louis had perished; which was a subject of general laughter among the soldiers, who, thanks to him, ran gaily into the mouth of death. The enemy came to attack us: the battle was desperately fought on both sides. Piccolomini conquered, was conquered, and was aided by the brave Elector. His artillery effected a breach; my dragoons availed themselves of it; and I had the good fortune to pursue the Turks even to their entrenched camp. I stopped, and, after a moment's consideration, I ordered my dragoons to leap over, some on foot, and some on horseback with me. They say that I was the first: it is true that I tore down a crescent, and planted in its place the Imperial Eagle. It was on that account, probably, that I was appointed to carry the news of the victory to the Emperor. He presented me with his portrait set with diamonds. I reached

Vienna in a very few days; and, after having passed three other there, I returned with equal celerity to the army, where I was also very well received; for I had then, apparently, too little merit to have any enemies.

History will record, I hope, the noble conduct of Commerci at this battle of Hersan. Nothing considerable occurred afterwards; and the campaign being entirely finished, I passed a splendid winter at Vienna, in consequence of the coronation of the King of Hungary. The Duke of Lorraine and many other generals repaired thither also: some of them engaged in intrigues, others in pleasure:—I was among the latter.

(1688.)

A colonel at twenty, a major-general at twenty-one, I was made a lieutenant-general at twenty-five. I conducted a reinforcement to the Prince of Baden in Sclavonia, and returned quickly, because there was a talk of besieging, or to speak more properly, of seizing Belgrade. The

command of the five points of assault was given, on the 6th of September, to other generals. I complained of this. The Elector said to me,—"You shall remain "with me in the reserve; and I do not "think that, in so doing, I either give you, "or take upon myself, a bad commis- "sion. God knows what may happen to "us!" He had justly anticipated the matter: the attack was repulsed on every side. This brave prince and myself (sword in hand,) rallied them, and animated them to advance. I mounted the breach. A janissary cleft my helmet with a blow of his sabre; I ran him through the body; and the Elector, who had received a musket ball in his hand the preceding campaign, was also wounded by an arrow in the right cheek. Nothing could be more glorious or more bloody. How we sometimes find, by the side of the most horrible events, something that amuses us! I did so, in the looks and gestures of the Jews, whom we compelled to throw into the Danube the twelve thousand men killed on both sides, to save

the trouble and expense of burying them. I set off for Vienna.

(1689.)

I regretted much that I did not remain with the army: then, perhaps, they would have thought neither of me, nor of my name. In fact, after the finest possible defence, I sacrificed my glory to my zeal. That cost me much; my three commanders, masters, and friends, Lorraine, Bavaria, staid in Germany; Baden in Hungary; and behold me as a negotiator in Italy. The French ambassador at Turin was not the dupe of my journey. To see my family and the Duke de Savoy, (said they;) he knew him (the Duke) to be *avarieious, ambitious, false, revengeful,* fearing and detesting Louis XIV. not loving Leopold, yet not hating him personally, always ready to betray both; and led by his mistresses and his ministers in every thing which did not closely affect him.

Not being able, however, to derive any advantage from either, I said frankly to him, " My cousin, you will always

"be the slave of your mortal enemy, if you "do not declare yourself for the Emperor, "who will make you a Royal Highness, "a generalissimo, and give you all that you "may conquer in Dauphiny and Pro-"vence; and, by hiding your intentions "until every thing is quite ready, you will "succeed."

This was attacking him by the four predominant qualities which I have underlined above. (*viz. the words in Italics.*)

"Where and when can I conclude this "treaty?" said Victor Amadeus. "Not "at Turin, for the French ambassador will "suspect the business."—"At Venice," said I. "At the approaching carnival, the "Elector of Bavaria, who, as well as your "Royal Highness, (I hastened to give him "this title,) loves to amuse himself, will "be there to sign it. I engage for this, "and would suggest to you forthwith, to "write to the King of France, to deceive, to "make excuses, to promise, and to gain "time."

The four reasons for these proceedings which I have enumerated above, being a security for his conduct, though not for his

good faith which I would not answer for, touching the issue, I engaged my word to the Emperor, on returning quickly to Vienna, that my cousin, this once, would be on our side. Leopold thanked me much, and permitted me as a recompense, to go and see the conclusion of the siege of Mayence, defended by Uxelles, which had been carried on for six months. I arrived precisely at the attack of the covered way, when I received a musket wound, and returned to Vienna.

(1690.)

Twenty thousand crowns per month from England, twenty thousand more from Holland, four millions for the expenses of the war, and a kind of subscription by all the petty Italian Princes, effected more than all my eloquence; and behold the Duke of Savoy, for a little time, the best Austrian in the world. His conduct, which I will not pretend to justify, reminds me of that of the Dukes of Lorraine formerly, as well as the Dukes of Bavaria. Geography prevented them from being men of honour.

The Ministers of the Emperor promised me seven thousand men, with which to assist Victor Amadeus. I knew the tardiness with which they ordered and executed at Vienna; and, eager to engage the French, whom I had never yet had opposed to me, I went to join the Duke of Savoy at his camp of Villa Franca.

"You are come in good time," (said "he;) "I am just going to give battle to "Catinat."—"Be careful, (I replied;) he "is an excellent general, with old regi- "ments serving under him, the very flow- "er of the French infantry. Yours are "new levies, and mine are not yet arri- "ved.—"What does that signify?" (said "the Duke.) I know my country better "than Catinat: to-morrow I shall advance "with my army as far as the abbey of "Staffarde."

Instead of giving battle, we had to receive it. The right wing, which the Duke of Savoy commanded, was attacked in front. The right wing of the French crossed some marshes which were thought impassable, turned and beat ours, and

then both the wings joined and fell upon our left wing, which I commanded. I retired in as good order as I could, and, in the rear guard, composed of the *gens-d'-armes* and the life-guards of Savoy, I was slightly wounded by a spent ball. I did not recall, to my dear cousin, either his presumption, or my prediction; I endeavoured to repair the error a little, at least on the side of glory; for, some time afterwards, I had the good fortune to cut off a large detachment which had pillaged Rivoli. It fell into an ambuscade, in which while we lay, we heard the French advance singing aloud; and we rushed out upon them, giving no quarter. I was very angry with the soldiers for treating all the prisoners *à la Turque*.—They had forgotten that quarter was granted to Christians. I went to punish my old acquaintance the Duke of Mantua, the hero of Hersan. I bade adieu to the Duke of Savoy, to whom nothing remained but Turin, and I set off for Vienna.

(1691.)

I availed myself of my interest to carry reinforcements to the Duke of Savoy;

but I detected him when I arrived, in giving a secret audience to a French emissary. "Why were you denied to me?" said I as I entered. "What man is "this?"—"I confess?" said the Duke to me, quite embarrassed, "that I am treat-"ing a little with Catinat through him; but "it is only to cheat him the better. Here "is the original of his letter, (added he,) "and there is the copy of my answer."—"I conceive," said I, "that you are "willing to retain the large subsidies "which I have obtained for you. It is "very embarrassing for your Royal High-"ness." I observed him more closely than ever, knowing well my man. I saved his honour this time, assisted his glory, and spoiled his projects by surprising Balonde, who besieged Coni; and, thanks to a letter which I foresaw would be intercepted by a party of the French, he raised the siege. Catinat repassed the Po. I harassed his rear-guard; he commanded there himself, and performed wonders both as a general and as a soldier. I had only a few squadrons with me. Catinat, stronger

than myself, animated his men by his presence. I became indiscreetly eager, and I got so entangled in the battle, that, after having received several cuts in my clothes, a French horseman was about to despatch me with a pistol, when a dragoon of my regiment saved me; this action pleased him no less than it did me, for I was much beloved by those brave fellows. Reinforcements arrived from all sides. I went to take Carmagnole, where all my soldiers conducted themselves again rather too much *à la Turque;* but I made some examples of them. Catinat manœuvred wonderfully; he would have beaten us if we had not retired. Langalleric, indeed, obtained a considerable advantage over our rear guard; it was this that induced me, afterwards, to take him into the Emperor's service.

I accompanied the Elector of Bavaria, who had been one of us this campaign also, to Venice, and I visited my former acquaintance with great pleasure. More amours took place; and, even with regard to myself, had I been so inclined, there

were some very complaisant husbands who would fain have had me displace some *Cicisbeos* who displeased them; too many Potiphars, of whom I was the Joseph, because I had other things to do. I returned to Vienna at the commencement of January.

(1692.)

I was soon sent back again to observe the motions of Catinat, but still more to watch those of the Duke of Savoy. To keep him, I carried with me the diploma of generalissimo, with which he was much pleased. He wanted to go immediately and attack Catinat at Pignerol; all his generals and those of the allies agreed with this proposition; but I did not. I said to him, "Catinat is skilful: if he "should be beaten, he will have reinforce-"ments; and if then, he beats us, adieu "to Italy. Let us make him lose his "conquests by an able diversion, which "will humiliate the great Louis. Let us "amuse him in this country, and pene-

" trate into Dauphiny, in spite of every " obstacle."

My opinion prevailed. I went to take Quillestra and Embrun. I received there a contusion on the shoulder while in the trench, by the side of the Duke of Savoy; and Commerci a ball, which knocked out three of his teeth. I lost Leganes and fifteen hundred men; but still I was in France. Afterwards, I took Gap, and the Duke of Savoy was just about to march by Sisteron to Aix, and perhaps as far as Lyon, without the smallest difficulty, when the small-pox seized him, which reduced him to the very verge of the grave, and saved France. In his will he assigned to me the regency of his states. When the Duchess arrived, she found him somewhat better, and conveyed him to Turin. Checked by this disaster, which made us lose so much time, and embarrassed by the indecision of his generals, who, not being able to say exactly what were the real intentions of their master, knew not how far they ought to obey me, I was obliged to retreat with the army by the

same road; for Catinat was waiting for us near Briançon.

"At least," said the soldiers, "we have "revenged the horrors of the French in "the Palatinate: without doing it as they "did, we have pillaged well, and levied a "million in contributions."

"Why did the king exile my mother?" said I to Commerci; "I have exiled now "some thousands of his subjects." They sent me the order of the Golden Fleece to Turin; and, arriving at Vienna, I was created a Field Marshal ten years after my entrance into the service. I was sufficiently delighted with this, as may be easily conceived: but still I regretted that Commerci was nothing more than a major-general.

(1693.)

Victor Amadeus wished to take Pignerol, and to wait for Catinat in the plain of Orbassan. I advised him not. "At "least," said I, "since you will fight near "Marsaille, possess yourself of the heights

" of Piosasque." He was displeased that they had burnt, in the way of retaliation, *La Veneri*, a house belonging to him, and another belonging to his minister St. Thomas; and he had it intimated to the French, that he would give no more quarter to the soldiers. That was a practice, however, but too well established.

Catinat exhibited, on this day, all his skill, and the Duke of Savoy his ineffectual bravery. The former, master of the heights, made fine work with our two wings, galled in flank likewise by his artillery. What could I do in the centre? I fought with considerable advantage for some time; but, overwhelmed on both sides, I retired as decently as I could.—Catinat disapproved of the fury of his soldiers, who cried out, *Let us serve the Germans à la Tartare.*

It was always difficult to decide whether this indefinable Duke wished or did not wish to gain the battles which he commenced: but these last two served me for a lesson; and, as it was known that I had advised against both, I was not very com-

fortable, either in the army, in the city, or at court. It was then, however, that I first perceived that I had enemies. Capara was the first; and, jealous of me, not very prudently, (for he had merit of his own,) he was at the head of the Austrian and Spanish cabal, which endeavoured to vex me all my life, and which I always despised.

(1694.)

I went to demand succour at Vienna. I obtained it; but very tardily. Italy was no longer in fashion. They thought more of Turkey, of the empire, and of the Low Countries. They were without money too. I returned to the Duke of Savoy, and said to him, when I arrived, "My "cousin, you cannot escape me again this "campaign. The siege of Cassel shall be "the pledge of your conduct. Are you will-"ing? Let us commence immediately."— "Alas! I am willing enough," he replied, "but that will take a long while; believe "me, it will be better to blockade this

"fortress all the winter that we may take "it in the spring." "At least," said I, "let "us take the castle of St. George;" and it was taken. What a gloomy campaign! and what a man my cousin!

(1695.)

I obliged him at last to make this siege. The snow compelled us to relinquish it until the end of June. I made great progress when I was entrenched. Prince Charles of Brandenburg, who relieved me one day, received a musket ball through his body. Crenon capitulated at length: I wished to besiege Pignerol; every day there was some new pretexts to oppose this, under the semblance of consent. We went into winter quarters. What a gloomy campaign! and what a man my cousin!

(1696.)

He did not lose his time: to escape from those spies over his conduct whom

I had left at Turin, the carnival of Venice appearing too suspicious, he invented a journey to our Lady of Loretto. A vow, he alleged, which he had made when he had the small-pox. Knowing the pilgrim to be any thing but devout, I soon heard that he met there the agents of the Pope, of the Venetians, and of the French, and of the conditions of the treaty. "I have already told you," said I, when I returned to Turin, "that I would ob-"serve you more closely than Catinat. "You shall impose upon me no more." "It is very hard," replied he, "to be sus-"pected by a relation." Hardly had I quitted his closet, when I heard of the publication of his truce with the French: and wishing to honour him no more by speaking to him, I expressed my indignation in a letter the most severe that ever I wrote in my life. Commerci, more impetuous, sent him a challenge. The Duke accepted it, and repaired to the appointed place, but his minister and his generals prevented him from fighting.

He was now no longer under any constraint. He confessed that, not wishing to be at war with any one, and desirous of its termination in Italy, he had signed a treaty of neutrality with Louis XIV. and that as the allies would not accede to it, he should unite himself to the French. As a commencement, Catinat and the Duke of Savoy went to lay siege to Valence. The generals of the allies and myself, finding that, in consequence of this junction, we were too weak to continue the contest, and fearing for the Milanese, we accepted the neutrality: and each, after having evacuated Italy, returned either into Germany, or to attend the French on the other side of the Alps.

Frustrated in the campaign and in the negotiation, I returned to Vienna to represent to the Emperor the sad condition of myself and of our affairs. He saw that I was free from all reproach; and as a proof of it, he gave me the command of his army in Hungary. "After "all, Sire," said I to him, for Italy was

still at my heart, "the only way to "have the Duke of Savoy for us, is to "have him declare against us: he does "not care for generalissimo. He is the "same among the French. In a little "time he will be with us."*

(1697.)

The Turks are never in a hurry. The Grand Signior himself, Kara Mustapha, did me the honor to arrive at Sophia with his army in the month of July. I marshalled mine at Verismarton; I recalled to me Vaudemont and Rabutin, for it appeared that the Grand Signior intended to possess himself of Titul, in order to carry on the siege of Peterwaradin. I encamped on the 26th August, at Zenta. General Nehm was attacked. I arrived too late to his assistance, at the head of seven squad-

* Louis XIV. thinking, perhaps, that I was discontented, or that they were discontented with me, made a proposal to me to enter into his service. I received gaily the person who brought the proposal, and he did not surely dare to deliver my answer exactly as I spoke it.

rons; I do not censure him, for he could not hold out any longer, overpowered by numbers. Thank heaven, I have never complained of any one, nor have I ever thrown upon another the odium of a fault or a misfortune. Titul was burned. The Grand Vizier remained on this side of the Danube, which the Grand Signior had to cross to go and besiege Peterwaradin; but, after coasting it along, and concealing my intentions by my skirmishes with the spahis, I anticipated him, and passed the bridge before him. It was thus I saved Peterwaradin. This march, which I confess was a brilliant one, was worth a battle gained. I soon entrenched myself, and they did not venture to attack me. Among some prisoners which we took, there happened to be a Pacha, whom I interrogated, but, in vain, respecting the designs of Cara Mustapha; but four hussars, with drawn swords, ready to hew him in pieces, soon made him confess that it was intended to approach Segedin: that afterwards the Grand Signior, changing his opinion, he had already begun to pass the Teisse, and

that a great part of the army under the orders of the Grand Vizier was already strongly entrenched near Zenta. I was marching to attack him, when a cursed courier arrived, and brought me a letter from the Emperor, ordering me not to give battle under any circumstances whatever.

I was already too far advanced. By stopping, I should have sacrificed a part of my troops and my own honour. I put the letter into my pocket. And, at the head of six regiments of dragoons, I approached near enough to the Turks to perceive that they were all preparing to pass the Teisse. I returned to my army with an air of satisfaction, which was, they told me, a good presage to the soldiers. I began the battle by rushing on two thousand spahis, whom I forced to fall back within the entrenchments. There were a hundred pieces of cannon, which incommoded me greatly. I bade Rabutin advance his left wing, inclining a little to the right; and Stahremberg, who commanded the right, to make the same

motion on the left, thus to embrace, by a semicircle, the whole entrenchment: a thing which I would not have dared to do before Catinat, who would have interrupted me in so tardy and somewhat complicated a movement. But the Turks left me alone. They attacked my left wing too late: however, it would have turned out but badly, without four battalions of the second line, and the artillery, which I sent very opportunely to disperse their cavalry and to make a breach in the entrenchments. It was six o'clock in the evening: we commenced the assault. The Turks, attacked at all points, threw themselves in crowds on the bridge which we blocked up, so that they were forced to throw themselves into the Teisse, where all those who could not swim were massacred. On all sides were heard the cries of *Aman! Aman!* which signifies quarter. The slaughter continued till ten o'clock: I could not make more than four thousand prisoners; for twenty thousand men remained in the field, and ten thousand were drowned. I did not lose a

thousand men. The first run-aways, at the commencement of the battle, succeeded in joining the corps which remained on the other side of the river. This was on the 11th of Sept. I sent Vaudemont to carry the intelligence to Vienna. I proceeded to capture two phalanxes and some castles in Bosnia, to burn Seraglio, and returned to my winter-quarters in Hungary.

I set off for Vienna, where I expected to be received a hundred times better than I had ever been yet. Leopold received me in the coldest manner; more austere than ever, he heard me without replying by a single word. I saw, immediately, that I had been circumvented during my absence; and that, while I was getting rid of the Turks, the good Christians at Vienna were endeavouring to get rid of me. I retired indignantly from the audience. I was still more indignant, when Schlick came to me, full of alarm, to demand my sword. I put it into his trembling hand, with a look of the most profound disdain, which alarmed him still more. It has been asserted that I said, "There it is, still smoking with the

"blood of his enemies; I consent never to "take it again, unless to be useful in the "service of his Majesty." The one half of this sentence would have been a gasconade, and the other half a base resignation. My rage was mute. I was put under an arrest in my own house. I now learned that Gaspard Kinsky, and some others, would have had me brought to trial for disobedience, and for having performed a bold and hazardous action; that I should be tried before a council of war, and that my head should pay the forfeit. The rumour of this soon spread through the capital. The people assembled round my house, and deputies from the citizens offered to guard me, and to prevent me from being removed, in case it was attempted to carry me to my examination, as had been talked of. I entreated them not to swerve from their duty of fidelity and tranquillity. I thanked them for their zeal; and I was so much touched that I wept. The city of Vienna is small and this assembly of the people was known at court a few minutes afterwards. Whether from fear or repentance, the Em-

peror sent my sword back, and begged of me to resume the command of his army in Hungary. I returned, in reply, that I would, "on consideration of having plenary powers, and being no more exposed to the malice of his generals and ministers." The poor Emperor did not dare give me this full authority publicly; but he did it secretly, in a note signed by himself, and I was contented with it.

This anecdote of Leopold, whom I condemned for not feeling that I merited a more signal reparation, sufficiently proves the falsity of an assertion that has been attributed to me—that, of the three Emperors whom I had served, the first had been my father, the second my brother, and the third my master. Pleasing mark of parental fondness, to cut of my head for having saved his empire! It was necessary that I should look elsewhere for energy. Behold it in the North. Charles the XIIth, king of Sweden, is, at the age of fifteen, the mediator of peace between the European powers: it was signed at Ryswick on the 21st of September.

(1698.)

Thus my army received reinforcements from that of Germany; but still the Turkish forces were four times stronger. I wanted to win another battle at Zenta. It was in vain that I marched and countermarched; the Infidels were every where entrenched. I then retired, in hopes to entice them out of their holes; all temptations were vain. I wished to march into Bosnia: they had received a reinforcement of forty thousand Tartars, and all the passages were guarded. I wished to besiege Temeswar; they would have made me raise the siege. Before they had time to assemble for that purpose, I thought I might possess myself of it, by intercepting an immense convoy ready to enter. I marched thither myself at the head of my cavalry; my infantry I placed in ambush. A hussar, who deserted from me, made my whole scheme miscarry. This was the most infamous campaign, for my own glory, that I ever made. I only put to

death thirty-two ringleaders of a conspiracy, to revolt, in seven regiments, who, not having received any pay during four months, (for the court kept me without money;) intended to desert to the Turks. On the 26th of January, peace was signed at Carlowitz, to make war in some other place, as is usually the custom.

(1699.)

I sent back my army, and set off for Vienna. It was during this year that I began to collect my fine library, and that I conceived a taste for gardens and palaces.

I purchased, from time to time, some fine cabinet pictures, and some drawings not generally known. I was not rich enough to form a gallery; and I did not like engravings, because others could have the same as myself. I never loved imitations of any sort, nor talents which consume valuable time. Some wind-instruments, marches, warlike or hunting airs,

trumpet calls, or agreeable tunes of comic operas, dispensed me from the necessity, during dinner, of talking, or of hearing idlers talk.

(1700.)

Here terminated a century of continual warfare. The celebrated peace of Westphalia, in 1648, whose effects were to have been felt by the whole continent, did not accomplish that object. The good counsellors of Leopold, and Leopold himself, not corrected by my example, wished to bring Prince Louis of Baden before a council of war for his campaign on the Rhine. Salm and Kaunitz were the only two honest men who opposed this design: they would have been subdued, however, but for me, who, more from justice than from any connexion of blood, or intimacy of friendship, which, however, I preserved all my life, spoke vigorously upon the point, and proved I had not forgotten Zenta.

After this peace of Carlowitz, France did us the honour to send M. de Villars as an ambassador, who was enthusiastically received by all his acquaintance in Hungary, where he had served gallantly as a volunteer, and by all the city, who found him extremely amiable. But they intrigued at his court against ours, without his knowledge. He was very much astonished at the coolness with which he was treated all at once. Notwithstanding the friendship of the King of the Romans for me, yet I could effect nothing from his reserve in his favour. "To what "good purpose is it," said I to him, as well as to the courtiers and generals who imitated him, "this personal acerbity towards "M. de Villars, who does not merit it? "I shall continue to see him, and behave "the same to him, until we begin to level "musquetry at him." Prince Louis of Baden did the same: and, in spite of every thing, we all three separated very good friends. It was a great loss to society; but at length, when Louis XIV. had finished all his machinations, and dis-

closed his intentions openly, he departed. Previously, however, we received this explanation. "It is not my fault," said he, "if, without having terminated your rebellion in Hungary, you make war upon us. I should have preferred, my lord, "if you had done like those gentlemen "who have turned their backs upon me "here, and would turn them elsewhere "also, if I commanded an army." This indeed was a sarcasm *à la Villars*. "You "expect," continued he, "that the Turks "will interfere, because the Abbé Joachim has predicted that the Empress "will be delivered of twins, one of which "will sit upon the throne of Constantinople."—"I harbour no resentment towards "you, M. de Villars," I replied; "for, in "your correspondence, somewhat light, "in the French manner, you have drawn "a portrait of me, at your court, traced by "the hand of friendship: others complain of some imprudences; and the "court, of having read, in your dispatches, *We shall see if the Christ of the "Chapel of Leopold will speak to him as*

"*he did to Ferdinand the second.* It is "thus; for it has been shown me. Private "individuals do not forgive ridicule; judge, "therefore, of the effect which a sarcasm "against a monarch must produce upon "him."—"I have been able to preserve "myself in this country," said he, "only "by the greatest reserve in conversation: "I am angry with you Austrians, who, "among the other tales fabricated at "my expense, say that I conspired with "Ragotzi against the person of the "Emperor."—"That is another piece "of folly," said I to him; "this was "the cause of it. They remembered a "phrase of yours in an intercepted let- "ter, when you were a volunteer among "us. *I am an Austrian in the army, but a* "*Frenchman at Vienna.* That implies a "great deal, said the blockheads. There "has never been any conspiracy against our "Emperors; they have never been assas- "sinated. We have no Jacques Clement "nor Ravaillac among us. The people are "not enthusiastic, as among you: but they "do not, therefore, pass easily from one

" opinion to another. There are scarcely " any crimes committed in Austria. They " endeavoured to persuade Leopold, the " preceding year, that there was a design " to kill him, because a ball went through " his hat when he was hunting. *Let the* " *man be found*, said he, with his Spanish " air, *he is a bungler of some kind or other ;* " *he is dying with fear or with hunger ; let* " *a thousand ducats be given to him.*"

(1701.)

War being upon the point of breaking out, on account of the Spanish succession, a grand council of conference was held. My advice was, that the Archduke should be sent into Spain immediately, to lead an army into Lombardy ; but it was rejected by the wise counsellors of Leopold. They were offended at it. Prince Louis was appointed commander in the Empire, and I in Italy.

I had thirty thousand men of good and ancient troops. The Duke of Mantua, consenting or not consenting to receive a

French garrison in his capital. I pretended that it was a commencement of hostilities on the part of Catinat, which served me as a pretext for commencing mine. Let me say a few more words respecting this Duke, of whom I have already spoken so much. Formigha was almost his prime minister. The Abbé Fantoni, his gentleman of the chamber, sometimes procured him girls, like a certain Mathia; sometimes a mistress, like the Countess Calori; sometimes a wife to marry, to be on the part of Louis the XIVth. like a Condé and a d'Elbœuf. The one and the other, retained by France, hindered him from espousing an Aremberg, who would have rendered him favourable to us. The Duke, also, had a seraglio guarded by eunuchs. Never was there such an original seen. In short, thanks to him, behold me deep in war, at the end of ten days of incredible labour and fatigue, over mountains and precipices, with two thousand pioneers; and a part of my success certain, because I did not respect the neutrality of the Venetian Republic.

Catinat, having received the most distinct orders from his court not to violate it, could not dispute my entrance into the Veronese. When I left Trentin, I sent my excuses to the most serene republic, by a Major, and proceeded on my road. Catinat waited for me in another place where I must have entered by defiles, and where I should have been beaten but for the step (not very delicate, I confess) which I had adopted. That was the moment for playing off the sounding words of imperious circumstances, of misunderstandings, and of the uncertainty of a general assent in a republic: all which I did not fail to do. By my passages of the Adige and the Po, I obliged Catinat to extend himself: I attacked and forced St. Fremont at Carpi. Tessé came to his support, and prevented his total ruin, which would have been inevitable, had not the badness of the roads hindered Commerci from advancing with my cavalry: I routed, however, these two generals, and separated them from Catinat, who was waiting for me at Ostiglia; and, while pursuing and charging them at

the head of my *cuirassiers*, I received a severe musquet wound in my left knee. Being joined by Commerci, Catinat did not dare to give me battle, or rather to continue that one, which was nearly the same thing. He availed himself of the night to pass the Mincio. I followed him on the other side of the river, because he had not had time to withdraw all his detachments; and the Duke of Savoy, who had begun his tricks, was not willing to send him his troops. Catinat retired upon Chiesa, and I became master of all the country between the Adige and the Adda, except Mantua. I had entertained a regular correspondence with Victor Amadeus, from whom I had no doubt I should derive some advantage. We must be cunning in Italy. I bribed a *Recollet* of Mantua; and he bribed the whole convent. Under the pretext of confessing us in our camp, the monks took away with them arms under their robes, with which to slaughter the life-guards at the nearest gate, and to open it to my soldiers, disguised as peasants;

this was to have taken place one day, when, with a numerous escort, I was to have gone and heard mass at *Notre-Dame-de-Grace*. They had even bribed over the inhabitants. They were discovered however, disarmed, and punished as they deserved. I lost Mantua.

The Duke of Savoy, content with becoming again a generalissimo, and with marrying his daughter to the Duke of Burgundy, arrived at the army of the two crowns. I presented him my compliments, from respect; and I made him a present, from friendship, of some beautiful Turkish horses which I had captured at Zenta. He dared not accept but one. Louis XIV. displeased that I had cheated Catinat, gave me great pleasure by appointing the presumptuous and ignorant Villeroy to succeed one of the best generals that France ever had. When the Duke of Savoy wished to do any thing, and said to him, "I am generalissimo," Villeroy replied, "I have an order from "the King;" and indeed he had one, to seek me wherever he could, and to fight

me. My cousin had the goodness to inform me of this. I wanted Chiari, for the head of my camp. The Venetian commander talked to me of neutrality; I told him I laughed at it; he begged me to accept his submission, and I signed whatever he wished. The enemy played me a trick; I was their dupe for once; I am compelled to own it. Prawntal, with all the drums in the army, made so much noise at the bridge of Palazzuolo, that the corps which was intended to prevent the passage of the Oglio remained still; and the enemy passed it at another place. I took up a position fronting with three sides. The honest Catinat, instead of rejoicing to see his commander beaten, said to him, "Do "not fight; let us retire." The Duke of Savoy, who wished that Villeroy might receive a severe check, said, "Fight! let "us attack! Catinat is timid, as you "know."

On the 1st of September my post at Chiara, towards my left, excellent as it was, was almost driven in, by an unheard-of instance of French intrepidity: all my

outposts were already gone. I never witnessed such an effort of courage. Daun drove them off. My right, hidden behind our entrenchment, lying flat on their faces, rose suddenly, and fired. Villeroy attempted the centre: that seldom succeeds where the wings are beaten.

The dignified, the admirable Catinat, rallied, brought back the troops to the attack, received a serious contusion in the breast, and a musquet shot in the hand. As for Victor Amadeus, he was every where; he exposed himself like the most desperate of the soldiery: he had a horse killed under him. What a singular character! This time he wished to lose the battle: but the habit of courage extinguished his policy.

Notwithstanding the loss of the army of the two crowns, it was still stronger than mine. I took up a good position again: my double success had abated a little the confidence and the vaunting tone of Villeroy. They fought only at the advanced posts, and in small detachments. Mine had always the advantage, because

my spies, to whom I often gave three hundred ducats, for slight information, warned me of the least motion of the enemy. The whole had to decamp: the first ran a risk of being beaten; it was necessary, however, to take up our winter-quarters.

'My horses, quite worn out, had not sufficient to feed them; they were supplied with dead leaves: my soldiers visibly grew thin; but they loved me, and suffered patiently: those of Villeroy, suffering also, but much less, deserted by hundreds. I gave an example of sobriety and patience. To relieve our *ennui*, my Vaudemont wished to surprise his father in his quarters: awakened by a musquet shot, he saved himself on horseback in his night-gown; and this stroke of filial piety failed. So did mine; for Catinat, during the night, effected his decampment and the repassage of the Oglio. Deceived, or rather badly served that day, (which, however, was an important one to me,) I ran thither, notwithstanding the obscurity, and, instead of destroying Villeroy, I made

only four hundred prisoners; I killed, however, a great number on the other side of the river, by my artillery, which followed me at full gallop.

The French, dying with hunger and fatigue, entered into quarters. The Venetians would not grant me any in the Bressan: to fight to be beaten, and to retire into the Tyrol, appeared to me to be equally hard. Where then was I to winter? I considered the most hazardous step to be the most prudent one: I threw myself into the Mantuan, and I took, by assault, Canette, the ancient Bedriacum, thanks to a soldier of Daun's, who, in spite of a heavy discharge of musquetry, cut the ropes of a draw-bridge: and then, Mascaria, Rodolesco, and the bridge of Gazolo.

Two little accidents befel my detachments; but I know not whether it was my fault, or that of Drack, who commanded on the one occasion; or of Mered, who commanded on the other. This latter was made prisoner; and, at the moment when he was going to be cut to pieces, by

way of retaliation, he was saved by a French officer: he fell into an ambuscade of Tessé, who issued out of Mantua for this expedition, which did him great honour. Still, however, I was in possession of the whole of the Mantuan, except Goito and Mantua, which I blockaded. I know not whether it was the heart or the genius of the Princess of Mirandole, which spoke in my behalf to her, but she gave a grand supper to all the French officers, that I might surprise the place. I took Berulo in spite of the Duke of Modena, who feigned to oppose it: the Duke of Parma objected wholly to the entrance of my troops into his country: I laughed at his protestations, and at those of the Pope, whose feudatory he said he was. Gustalla had already surrendered to me; and, after having disposed so well of all these petty Italian princes, I occupied three provinces, to give repose to my troops during the winter.

(1702.)

For myself, however, I took none: I ran from one quarter to another, and remarked with pleasure the negligence which prevailed among the French. "I must," said Villeroy, "make these three princes "dance the rigadoon during the carnival." This made us desirous to prevent him, by surprising Cremona, on one side by Commerci, and on the other by Vaudemont. The latter missed his way during the night: one of my detachments entered by a sewer. I was already master of one of the gates, and some streets. This couplet of the French soldiers describes the rest; besides, that it is read every where.

Par une faveur de Bellone,
Et par un bonheur sans égal,
Nous avons retrouvé Cremone,
Et perdu notre général.

Villeroy, taken by our soldiers, who had thrown him under his horse, not

easily recognized without his hat, his wig, and his sword, said to Macdonel, "I am "the marshal, save me, I will give you a "regiment of cavalry, and a pension of two "thousand crowns." The streets were stained with blood. To finish all these small battles, I sent word to Villeroy by Commerci, to stop them, and to let the French surrender. He had the spirit to reply, "they must not obey a prisoner!" and he said, seeing Crenau brought in, who was killed, "I envy his fate!" I repaired to the *hotel de ville*, and endeavoured to excite the citizens. Mahoni said to one of my officers, "a good quarter for "M. Friedberg." The officer replied, "It is not a day of clemency; do your "duty, and I shall do mine." Friedberg was killed. Our soldiers, and especially the *cuirassiers*, with whose courage and order I was not very well satisfied, were repulsed on all sides. Before being totally driven from the city, I went to see Villeroy, who excited my pity; I sent him off to Inspruck, and began to order the retreat, which would have been very embarrassing,

if Crequi had cut me off from the rest of my army. I admired the bravery of the French, awakened out of their sleep and half naked, resisting us every where with ferocity, and the intelligence of their officers. Mine were very deficient; I had the glory of having surprised, and the shame of not having kept; but, in fact, when we do not succeed, it is the same as if we had not undertaken. I went to invest more closely Mantua, whose Duke was dying with fear and hunger, in spite of all the efforts of Tessé who conducted himself wonderfully; sometimes he even eluded the vigilance of my parties, and conveyed provisions into the town.

The skilful, the intrepid, the good, the amiable, the generous, the quick in penetrating the designs of others, the indiscreet, with respect to his own sometimes, the affable, the indolent Vendome, succeeded Villeroy; when he arrived, he made several movements with his army, and I did the same with mine, for I saw, plainly, that he wished to attack me, or to relieve Mantua. The court of Vienna not hav-

ing supplied me with a sufficiency of troops, either from malice or from want of means, this commencement of Vendome's was very brilliant; he took from me all my small towns and my communications. I entrenched myself wherever I retired to; and, the better to observe him, I pitched my camp very near his.

Certain splenetic persons have blamed me, for having endeavoured to carry off Vendome from his house at Rivalto, on the borders of the lake of Mantua, (where were his head quarters,) by Davia, whom I caused to embark with fifty men. One of the soldiers killed the sentinel whom Davia ordered to be seized. The guard ran out. Davia re-embarked, and was certainly wrong to fire into the windows of Vendome, as he departed.

The first thing in war is, *seize who can*; and, beside, it was doing him honour; for Catinat himself could not have used such rapidity in his manœuvres. At all events we were soon even with each other. Vendome had twelve pieces of cannon placed on a height, whence he battered my

house in day-light. I hastened out of it, for it was ready to fall upon my head. That of Commerci was burned with red hot balls, and others were shattered down; the tents of my guard perforated, and a hundred men killed. All that was natural enough I thought, but rather tedious, for the cannonade lasted during three hours, and I did not complain.

Not wishing to recede from Mantua, I threw up entrenchments round my camp, twenty feet in height. Who would have thought that I had learned something from the Turks, and that the Turks had learned something from the Romans? That has been transmitted to them, in my opinion, by colonies, like the Etruscan forms of vases and pitchers, which are found in the house of every peasant. I return to my subject.

I could not boast of the smallest advantage over Vendome. A large detachment which was sent to observe him, commanded by Visconti, who had three horses killed under him, was surprised and beaten. Commerci, though with his legs na-

ked in his boots, arrived too late, and also without being obliged to do it, for he was sick. I saw plainly that I should be forced to raise the siege of Mantua, collect my detachments and small garrisons, and give battle with my twenty-six thousand men. I marched towards Seraglio, and Vendome to Luzara, whence my small garrison, which I still retained there, retired into a tower; from Seraglio I went to pass the Po, at the commencement of the canal of Zero, and I hid all my infantry, with their faces on the ground, behind a large dike, near the camp which the enemy had marked out. At the moment when the army of the two crowns, deceived by my spies, were about to enter it, we were discovered by the merest accident. I made my soldiers climb over the dike as well as they could, and they rushed upon the enemy, who had not time to range themselves in order of battle. The cavalry, with fascines which I had given them for the occasion, opened themselves a passage to sustain my infantry. The brave Com-

merci, the best of my friends and of my generals, was killed while fighting in the left wing. Lichtenstien took his place, and was killed also. Langallerie rallied them, who, desperate with the loss of their two commanders, at length repulsed the victors. They returned to the charge, and took up their former ground. During this time my left wing was beaten. Stahremberg rallied it. Vaudemont came to his assistance and performed wonders. I was prosperous in the centre, notwithstanding the presence of Vendome, who was also in the centre of his army; and yet, in spite of this, I should have been beaten, if I had not observed that a part of my cavalry, hitherto useless, as well as that of the allies, on account of the ruggedness of the ground, by crossing some smaller ditches and penetrating through some thinner hedges, might decide the success of my left and secure mine. It appeared to me that the only way to render my success certain, was to sleep on the field of battle. It was, I suppose, out of politeness to the King

of Spain, that Vendome had the *Te Deum* sung. I have been told that the Duke of Mantua kept constantly by the side of this monarch during the battle, which gave me a good idea of his prudence. As for the Duke of Savoy, he had none of that kind of prudence; he fought as usual, but displeasing every one by too much *finesse*. He was ill received when he joined the army of Philip V. who returned into Spain two days after the battle. Before finally abandoning Mantua, I wished to enter it by my spies. But it did not succeed a second time; a deserter saved me from being surprised just as I was on the point of falling into an ambuscade. I had done all I could; I had acquired some glory, and had lost some ground. It was not my fault; let it be remembered that the army of Vendome was double the number of mine. Of all my posts I retained only Ostiglia, and I would not take up my winter quarters until I had seen the French enter into theirs. I sent Solari to cover Trentin, and I set

off for Vienna, where I had not been for two years.

(1703.)

The emperor made me president of war in the place of Mansfeld. I told him that it was impossible to carry on war without troops and without money, that they had been wanting for the last six months, as well as every other necessary; I wished that the other military commanders might be better supplied than I had been, which accordingly took place. I put a stop to peculation in all the different departments. I said to the Emperor, "Your army, Sire, is your "monarchy; without that it will revert "to the Turks, to the French, or perhaps, one day or other, to the Hungarians. Your capital is a frontier town; "your Majesty has no fortress on any "side; every one is payed except those "that serve you. Make peace, sire, if "you cannot make war; which is impossible without the money of England.

"What are your ministers doing that "they take no advantage of the hatred "against France, but involve you in a "war with all France, and even with "your own subjects. Further, if your "Imperial Majesty do not empower me "to draw over entirely the Duke of Savoy, "who is already half with us, there can "never be any success in Italy." I succeeded; and this was the only ministerial success I had that year; and the only military success was to repulse the rebels of Hungary, so effectually and so quickly as to prevent Vienna from being disturbed, and to save Presburg. Although I was President, I could not even give myself the army which Leopold had promised me, and therefore I could do no more.

(1704.)

That indeed was not much; but at last, as I had foreseen, Caroli entered, at the head of the insurgents, on Easter Sunday, the suburbs of Vienna. I know

not why they feared to advance as far as the court; for I had great difficulty in assembling the small garrison and the citizens, whom I placed behind an entrenchment which I hastily threw up at St. Marck's, which I extended from thence, on the right and left, as far as the Danube. The few troops that we had between Vienna and Presburg, and between Presburg and Raab, had been dispersed. It was in vain that I had begged to have reinforcements sent them. Thanks to this lesson, they granted them to Heister, who cut off the retreat of those who had entered Vienna, and routed the detachments which came to their help. I myself went into Hungary to make war for a short while, and afterwards ensued the accommodation with Ragotzi, Berezeni, &c.

It was necessary that Leopold should be in fear before it could be ventured to tell him strong truths. Where is the mistress or the friend to whom we can tell such with impunity? Still less can we expect to do it to a powerful sovereign spoiled by slaves, who accompany

him, every day, to church, but not his generals to war. I demanded of him an audience extraordinary, on urgent occasions, as if I had been an ambassador from a foreign power; this seldom happened to me, however.

"Recruit, raise a militia," said I to him this time, "borrow from Holland, "which is good for nothing else. Let "there be no taxes, but a sort of capi- "tation; and no largesses to monks and to "persons of the court, which, notwith- "standing, should be splendid. In a con- "ference with monied people, who know "the resources of the state, and the quan- "tity of circulating specie, let there be "memoirs read and discussed before your "Majesty. They laugh at our finances; "and for myself, I weep at them: find "a Colbert in the country, if it be pos- "sible."

What I gained by this was, the power to treat alone; and I confederated with us Queen Anne and Marlborough. I went to find him at Hailbronn, to concert measures with him and Prince Louis of Baden,

whom I had not seen for a long while. I assigned to myself the lines of Behel to defend; and I issued from them to follow Tallard, who wished to join the Elector of Bavaria. Should I not be so fortunate as to succeed, said I, in the worst extremity I shall only have to beat them together, which will save me the trouble of doing it singly. Tallard and Marsin possessed two sorts of presumption, very different from that of Villeroy, and with more of mind in them. The one founded his upon his *spire*, and the other on the divine protection; which, indeed, by the cabal of devotees, had benefited him as much as that of the court. Tallard's moral vision was no less short than his physical. Marsin saw better, and had more talent, but luckily he lost his head suddenly.

With patience, and abstaining from combat, they might have obliged me to abandon Bavaria; for I could have no other place to establish my stores and magazines at, than Nordlingen; but these gentlemen were in a hurry; and the Elec-

tor was furious, because of some pillaging which I had permitted Marlborough to make, who, in consequence, was entirely devoted to me. We truly loved and esteemed each other. He was a great statesman and warrior.

They had eighty thousand men, and so had we. Why were the French separated from the Bavarians. Why did they encamp so far from the rivulet, which would have embarrassed our attack? Why did they put twenty-seven battalions and ten squadrons into Blenheim? Why, also, did they disperse so many troops in other villages? Marlborough was more fortunate than I in his passage of the rivulet, and in his noble attack: a small escarpment delayed me half an hour. My infantry did well; my cavalry very bad. I had a horse killed under me: Marlborough was checked, but not repulsed. I succeeded in rallying the regiments, who were, at first, shy of attacking. I led them back to the charge four times. Marlborough, with his infantry and artillery, and sometimes with his cavalry, dispersed

the enemy, and advanced to take possession of Blenheim: we were driven back, for a moment, by the *gendarmerie*; but we finished, by pushing them into the Danube. I was under the greatest obligations to Marlborough, for his changes of position, according to each circumstance. A Bavarian dragoon took aim at me, but one of my Danes luckily prevented him. We lost nine thousand men; but twelve thousand eight hundred Frenchmen killed, and twenty thousand eight hundred prisoners, prevented them, this time, from singing their customary *Te Deum*, which they always do when defeated, but which they never acknowledge. I wrote to the King of Prussia, respecting the noble conduct of Anhalt and his corps.

The poor Elector joined himself to Villeroy, who had marched to favour his retreat. They embraced each other mournfully. "I have sacrificed," said the Prince, "my "estates to the King, and I will also "sacrifice my life to him." My Lord Duke, (for Marlborough had become so then) Prince Louis of Baden, and myself,

went to Stutgard, to amuse ourselves. The second took Landau, the first Trarbach, and I missed the two Brisachs; the one, because the Governor of Fribourg lost himself, and the other, from the false delicacy of the Lieutenant-Colonel of Bayreuth, whom I had caused to enter as a courier along with the rest, and who, not enduring patiently a sound drubbing with a stick from an overseer of the works in the place, commanded to fire. This, in truth, was honour very much misplaced; and this was the only occasion on which it would have been very laudable to receive a good beating. Had we proceeded, the blows would have been envied, rather than stigmatized. I went before Ingoldstadt, ready to surrender, but for the intrepidity of a French regiment, composed of brave deserters in the service of Bavaria. They spurned my promises and my menaces; but, astonishing them by my generosity, in sending them back safely convoyed, that nothing might happen to them, they evacuated Ingoldstadt; and, except Munich, the whole of Bavaria was

in our possession, thanks to the treaty which I made with the Electress. The conditions were harsh: she refused them: but by the interposition of Father Schuhmacher, a good Jesuit, her confessor, I succeeded in making her sign them; and I set off for Vienna.

(1705.)

Affected by the situation of the Duke of Savoy, who had now reformed, and become again a good Austrian, and who had lost almost every thing, for which the Court of Vienna had not indemnified him, I represented his case to the Emperor. "Very well," said he to me; "take reinforcements to him; command "the army in Italy."—"I remember, "Sire," I replied, "my last campaign, "when, from stupidity, or knavery, or "malice, or jealousy, leaving me without "money, and without troops, I was forced "to give up the blockade of Mantua, lose "all the towns I had taken, and render "my victory of Luzara useless. They

"intercepted my letters to your Majesty, "and endeavoured to tarnish my honour. "I would rather lay all my employments "at your feet, and lead, I know not "where, a life of retirement. I have gone "through twenty-two years of labour, of "which the last ten have been disturbed "by court-storms and intrigues. I had "hoped to re-conquer one-half of the "Spanish succession; but, notwithstand-"ing my victory at Hochstet, I still "feared for your majesty's states, which "had been lost, if I had been beaten."

Leopold promised me twenty-eight thousand men, regularly payed, and well appointed. I would not set off, however, till after they had, and I repaired to Roveredo. The Mirandole had surrendered: I entered into the Bressan. Vendome marched to attack me; but, anticipating him in occupying the height of Gavardo, he did not venture to do it. It was while there that I heard of the death of the Emperor: I loved Joseph better, who succeeded him; but I feared, as sons generally adopt a directly contrary

course of proceeding to their fathers, that he would abandon the Duke of Savoy, to whom, in truth, I was responsible. It was not so, however: he wrote to me to continue, and sent me, immediately, 100,000 florins, for the payment of the troops.

Leopold was not without good qualities; but I cannot conceive how any Spanish and Austrian flatterers could attempt to call him Leopold the Great. It did not succeed, however. He detested the French so much, that he had forbidden a single word of that language to be spoken in his court. I got out of the difficulty, by speaking Italian, which I knew better than German, though I easily understand it, and can give orders in that tongue.

Vendome went into Piedmont, and charged his brother, the Grand Prior, to make me quit the Bressan by starving me. I wished to dislodge him from the *Cassine de la Couline*, an important post. An incredible combat in courage and in resources ensued; seven grenadiers defended the pigeon house. If Wurtemberg had

wished to set fire to the *cassine*, when he first arrived, he could have done it. The Grand Prior came to assist; not daring to risk a general engagement, I attempted the passage of the Oglio. That was necessary; for nothing remained to the Duke of Savoy but Turin. I succeeded; but how? I used trick upon trick, and availed myself of the sloth of the Grand Prior, whom I knew to be a great sleeper, and effected my march in the middle of the night. He endeavoured to repair this fault, when he awoke, by an incredible degree of diligence: just on the point of rejoining me, I wheeled about to attack him. The position which he took, gave me some alarm, and, contrary to my usual practice, I assembled a council of war. I suspected that they would decide against attacking him.

I suspected also, that the Spaniard Toralba was nothing very formidable. I drove him from Palazzuolo, and threatened to shoot him, if he threw into the Oglio the provisions of which I had so much need. He took flight to Bergama. Visconti and Joseph of Lorraine, who was

wounded there, overtook him, and, instead of defending the height where he was very well posted, a few cannon balls made him surrender, with nine hundred men. The rage and astonishment of the Grand Prior may be easily guessed. Palazzuolo and the bridge of Oglio having yielded, I advanced to pass the Adda, the only barrier of the Milanese.

I went to take Soncino; and, hearing that the head-quarters of the French were at Solesino, I said to my generals, "Alber-"gotti has certainly joined the Grand "Prior, and I will lay any thing, from this "bold movement, that Vendome has ar-"rived at the army." I was more convinced of this afterwards, when, occupying the post of the fourteen *Navili*, by Vetzel, Vendome himself came to dislodge him. His grenadiers attacked the bridge while others threw themselves into the water on the right and left, to take my detachment in flank on both sides. There were bravery, skill, and enthusiasm! there were French soldiers!

Vendome wished to fight, and I did

not. I wished to assist the Duke of Savoy in the Mantuan, and Vendome did not wish it. Vendome, though not so negligent as his brother, had a little of his indolence. I stole a march upon him during the night, and reached, by two forced marches, the banks of the Adda. I possessed myself of a magnificent country house belonging to the Jesuits of Bergama, called *The paradise.* I passed the Adda quietly; but one of my waggons, laden with bridges, broke down on the road.

The Adda, almost a perfect torrent at that time, was not very easy to pass; its rapidity prevented the quick junction of the boats. Vendome had time to arrive; but a sort of amphitheatre formed by my grenadiers, to protect the labourers, disinclined him to interrupt their proceedings. The Spaniard, Colmenero, informed me of all. I intended to go and fight the Grand Prior; but he slowly decamped by a positive order from his brother. I thought to pass the Adda by the bridge of Cassano. Vendome opposed himself: the question was, who should

deceive the other. I wished to bring the matter to a conclusion by a battle. I had been told that Vendome generally slept in the afternoon, without any one daring to wake him, lest it should put him in an ill humour. Linange possessed himself of the *Cassine* and of the bridge of Ritorto; he was repulsed. I arrived there: I retook all, and I drove in the left of the French. Vendome arrived, also, with his *troupe dorée*, which soon returned a dazzling gleam from our fire. He had a horse killed under him, and received a musket shot in his boot. I received a musket shot in the throat; and, in spite of the blood which flowed copiously, I still continued, till a second ball, which struck me above the knee, obliged me to retire to have my wounds dressed. It would be all over with the French, if I took a redoubt. I had Anhalt told to finish a smart firing which harassed me in the centre and on the left. Brave and active as he was, he drove his horse into the Ritorto, followed by the Prussians, who were in the water up to the chin: he was wounded. Wurtemberg

did the same on the right: he was killed. The arms and ammunition of both detachments were wetted: they could no longer return the fire of the French. They possessed themselves of the castle of Cassano. Bebra, Rewentlau, and Joseph of Lorraine, a young prince of nineteen years of age, were killed in checking the enemy, and keeping firm on this side the Ritorto, which they had been obliged to repass, and which the enemy respected as a barrier that I had marked out to them. They declined to pass it, as I declined the passage of the Adda. If that be what is called losing a battle, I confess it. I went to take up an excellent post at Trevigio. The pretended conquerors were, apparently, in much greater confusion than the conquered; for not one ventured to approach my rear-guard. These conquerors, indeed, lost more men than the pretended vanquished, left behind them standards and prisoners, and threw a great quantity of baggage into the canal. Though Vendome had been joined by his brother, who fell asleep at Rivalti, two leagues from

the field of battle, (for which he was cashiered the army,) he demanded reinforcements from La Feuillade, because he thought that I intended to attack him. I did not, indeed, join myself to the Duke of Savoy; but in consequence of these reinforcements which I compelled Vendome to exact of La Feuillade, I spoiled the project of besieging and taking Turin. Did I lose the battle? I know not. At all events, I do not reproach myself for having fought. A signal success would have rendered me master of Italy; and a failure, which is different from a reverse, and which I may attribute to my two wounds, did not prevent me from still manœuvering before Vendome all the rest of the campaign, and to take up my winter quarters quietly behind the mountains, at Cabsinato, Lunato, &c. Before entering them, however, I attempted some small enterprises, all of which were frustrated by Vendome. Not to be beaten by a man like him is more glorious than to beat another. I set off for Vienna.

(1706.)

Marlborough arrived at Vienna. I had written to him, that his presence would be necessary to me: I presented him to the Emperor, who received him as might be expected. He assisted me in obtaining succours for the Duke of Savoy. "Queen Anne," said he, "sent me for "that purpose. We will lend 25,000 "sterling to your Imperial Majesty, and "I calculate upon beating the enemy in "the Low Countries." Thither he went, and I into Italy. I arrived at Roveredo at the same time as the runaways of my army, which was entrusted to Rewentlau, who had been beaten at Cabsinato. I had but too well corrected Vendome for his sloth. Informed of my departure from Vienna, he was before me with his army. He had feigned sickness, and took, in public, remedies as if he had been really ill; but throwing off, all at once, his barley-water, his night-gown and cap, he remounted his horse, on the night of the 18th or 19th of

April for his grand expedition. I rallied the runaways, and I hastened to Gavardo, to hinder Vendome from cutting of my communication with Trentin. Vendome employed an astonishing celerity in all his marches: I had great difficulty in escaping him. Never before had I such labour. I succeeded, however, in possessing myself of several posts, which secured to me the side of the Adige. That was necessary, in order to make the siege of Turin be raised.

Happily, (thanks to the discernment of Louis XIV.) Feuillade was entrusted with this business. It had been very badly invested; two posts were free: Vendome observed me on the other side of the Adige; it was necessary, however, to pass that river. A Venetian commander took it in his head to intercept my passage to Badia. I caused the gate to be hewn down by my grenadiers; and, perceiving that Vendome was no longer with the army, the command of which he went to resign, at Milan, to the Duke of Orleans, I returned thanks, first of all, to God;

and, without much difficulty, I deceived the French, who secured three posts, and passed the Adige, where they did not expect me.

Tessé had lost Spain at Barcelona; Villeroy, the Low Countries at Ramilies: it was necessary that La Feuillade should lose Italy. I passed the Tanaro and the Po. Vendome had carried with him the love, the heart, and the spirit of the French. I passed the Secchia and the canal of Ledo, and I again thanked God for removing Vendome. The Duke of Parma sent me his compliments, fodder, and provisions. The Duke of Savoy, sent me a nobleman from his court, to conjure me to go to him. He was rather uneasy, with his small corps out of the town, the command of which he had left to Daun. I wrote to the former, that it would all be over very soon; and to the latter, that, reckoning to be at Nice-de-la-Paille on the 30th of the month of August, I should soon present to him in Turin, as a recompense for his gallant defence, the patent of general of infantry, which the Emperor had given me for him. I

caused Goito to be taken by the Prince of Hesse, and Astradella by Kirscbaum. I marched only during the night, on account of the intense heat, which greatly incommoded us. I passed the Bormida, and I halted on the 27th quite near the Tanaro, to arrive in Piedmont, at the place which I had specified to the commandant of Turin, two days before I had fixed; and, fifteen days before the time, I discharged my promise, with an order to thank his brave garrison for me. "The great calcu-" lator Catinat," said I to myself, "and " the fiery and rapid Vendome, (when he " should be so) would not have suffered me " to do all this." I returned thanks to heaven also, for we are devout when we are happy. "Apparently," said I also to myself, "the extensive power, and the " narrow mind of Marsin, will check the " talents and bravery of the Duke of Or-" leans." I went to visit the Duke of Savoy beneath Carmagnole, and our soldiers, when they saw us embrace each other, threw their caps in the air, and cried out, *Long live Joseph I. and Victor Amadeus!*

and I believe also a few, *Long live Eugene!* La Feuillade made an assault on the 30th, and was repulsed with great loss. The Duke of Orleans, more skilful than his two colleagues, wished to march to me. Marsin said to him, in the council of war, that probably I only thought of throwing succours into the city; and that, with the rest, I should be a spectator of its capture. All the generals were of the same opinion as the Duke of Orleans. Marsin shewed a writing signed by the King. "The Prince "is angry," said he to them; "gentlemen, "I have a tutor. My post-chaise: I shall "set off." He did not, however, because he was anxious to fight. I sent Visconti to cut off a considerable convoy.

Turin held out for four months, and could do no more: we marched at last, to deliver it. The Duke of Savoy and myself mounted on a height, whence we saw various irregular movements in the enemy's camp. "These people, my cou- "sin," said I, "are already half beaten." Our whole artillery gave a terrible *coup d' archet*. The battle commenced; the Duke

of Savoy and myself, ran where we thought our presence most necessary. This time we fought sincerely and heartily; there can be no doubt of it; it was *pro domo sua*. The right wing was repulsed first, because it could not attack so soon as the left. Anhalt remedied all with his brave Prussian infantry, and myself at the head of four squadrons: during an hour and a half, advantages were gained on both sides; we killed, but we did not conquer. We succeeded in leaping into the entrenchments of the French, but they separated in pursuing. Three pieces of cannon, well posted, checked the *carabiniers*, who, otherwise, would have made bad work with my cuirassiers, and perhaps with my infantry: it was in rallying them who had been already put into confusion, that one of my pages and a *valet-de-chambre* were killed behind me, and that my horse, wounded by a musket shot, threw me into a ditch. They thought I was dead, and they say, that this belief caused a momentary sensation among the troops. The order which I gave, remounting on horseback, covered

with dust, mud, and blood, to the regiment of Stahreberg, to fire a volley upon the French cavalry, relieved my infantry, who kept themselves firm on the part of the lines which they had forced. The centre preserved itself well. Rehbinder was repulsed three times by the Duke of Orleans, who received two musket shots. The Duke of Savoy entered, at length, himself, into the trenches.

We were then able to give some help to the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, who performed wonders on the right, but could not succeed, because of the Castle of Lucento. The Saxons leaped into the trenches, forced Pont Cassine, and the battle was thought to be gained on all sides; but they all rallied again, and attacked us on the field of battle which we had won. Daun, though pressed by La Feuillade, made a sortie at this interesting moment, and decided the victory. I know not what might have happened, if Albergotti had not been so silly as to remain a spectator on the hill of the Capucins with forty battalions. One thing is certain—that the

most obstinately disputed battle which I ever saw, ought to have continued longer; however, not calculating upon such a piece of folly, I had troops disposed to take him in flank, if he had attempted to descend to me. This was the 7th of September.

My good fortune would have it, that Marsin, who was killed there, waited for me with his eighty thousand men behind the lines: if he had come to attack me, before hand, and to turn me, I should have been greatly embarrassed with my thirty thousand. I was under many obligations, on this occasion to two Frenchmen, Bonneval and Langallerie—bad heads, and who finished badly, but whom I loved greatly then for their valour and spirit. I had some influence with the Emperor Joseph, and I had taken them both, as generals, into the Imperial service. It was a pity that they turned thus: they pretended to be free-thinkers, who are almost always unsteady characters. The affectation of irreligion is, independently of its

foolish impiety, always the mark of a bad taste.

Before giving myself up entirely to joy, fearing lest the conquered besiegers should endeavour to cover the Milanese, I drew out my telescope, which I never use but when I cannot reconnoitre close, and seeing them fly towards Pignerol, rather than retire, I said to the Duke of Savoy, "My cousin, Italy is ours!"

It may be easily imagined how we were both received in Turin, where the little powder that remained in the city hardly served to make a general salute of artillery, during the *Te Deum*. "I do not "think," said I to Daun, whom I embraced with great sincerity, "that Louis "XIV. will have one sung in Paris this "time."

The next day after the great battle, the Prince of Hesse lost a little one against Medavi; but that did me no harm: I continued to pursue. The Vaudois massacred the runaways. We took Chivas, Novare, Milan, the citadel of which last place we blockaded; Lodi, Pizzighitone, Tor-

tone, Alexandria, Seravalla, and Casel. Going to reconnoitre the post of Caracorta, I received a severe contusion in my left arm by a musket-ball.

(1707.)

Our generalissimo remained at Turin, very well contented, and I took up my winter-quarters: we both of us thought of making the siege of Toulon, after having taken the citadel of Milan and of Modena, and some other little posts, when Louis XIV. offered to evacuate all Italy. We consented, upon condition that something should be given to the Duke of Mantua, Mirandole to its duke, and much to the Duke of Savoy, as a recompense to him. Daun signed the convention on our part, and St. Pater on that of the French, on the 7th of March.

I know not what possessed Joseph I. to send me to the Rhine in the place of the Prince of Baden. I wrote to him, that this was certainly some trick of my enemies, that I did not wish it, and that I

was going on prosperously where I was. I did not expect indeed to have missed Toulon; we should indubitably have taken it, if we had not been made to lose time, in the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, where there was a conspiracy in favour of the House of Austria. Two cursed cardinals, Grimani and Pignatelli, who were there, prevailed against the advice of the Duke of Savoy and of myself: there is no influence at court which can exist in absence. Louis XIV. would have been much more humiliated by the loss of Dauphiny, Languedoc, and Provence. Tessé opposed, in vain, our passage of the mountains. I passed them on the 4th of July, at the *Col de Tende*, and the Duke of Savoy and the other corps elsewhere: the Var was crossed; some entrenchments were taken; we marched to Frejus; we arrived before Toulon.

The Duke of Savoy urged me to carry the height of St. Catharine. I placed there the young Prince of Saxe-Gotha, and the Duke of Savoy promised him a reinforcement of four battalions, if he

should be attacked; they could not possibly arrive in time. Never did the French attack with such rapidity and fury. This prince, only twenty years of age, and already lieutenant-general of the armies of the Emperor, of England, and of Holland, of a charming figure, and accomplished at all points, defended himself like a lion. He had already lost a number of men: of the two hundred who still remained, not above thirty or forty were with him, to whom he said, "My friends, let us, "at least, die like men of honour." At that instant he was killed with two musquet shots. Works, entrenchments, batteries, every thing was ruined and destroyed, every thing was to be begun again. I was inconsolable for the loss of the young prince: but I was a little comforted by the destruction of St. Catharine, and by the capture of the two forts of St. Margaret and St. Louis. Notwithstanding, I could not help secretly asking myself, where will be the utility? Tessé made most excellent arrangements in the place, and I strongly suspected that the expedition to Naples, which

had retarded the arrival of the English and Dutch fleet before Toulon, would have made us lose it. But these are the effects of cabinets, parliaments, states-general, and coalitions. We should have marched, as I proposed, directly to Toulon after the expulsion of the French from Lombardy. Notwithstanding that, however, but for the bravery and genius of Tessé, and the unhappy day which witnessed the death of my dear Prince of Gotha, we should have succeeded.

I left to the Duke of Savoy the honour of proposing to raise the siege; I took care not to contradict him: I suspected that the English would accuse him of having been in concert with the French. They were vexed at having incurred so much expense uselessly: and they may be forgiven. I wrote to Marlborough that they were wrong, and that this once, by chance, the Duke of Savoy was the most sincere man in the world with regard to us: but he had not been too much so towards the Provençeaux upon whom he had practised violent extortions, and cut up and destroy-

ed their olive trees: taking away plants and seeds to carry them into his own country. Detested as he was, he was often embarrassed in his retreat: mine was executed easier. On the 25th of July my army arrived at Frejus: I frustrated the intentions of Medavi, who thought to harass my march through the defiles and in the passages of the Var, which I executed without any difficulty.

Angry, however, at having passed a campaign without any success, I went to take Suza, the only place which the French retained on this side the mountains: I went to Turin to take up my winter-quarters; to Milan to regulate the contributions of the princes of Italy; and to Vienna to arrange the plans of the ensuing campaign.

We must not be discontented at court: I hate grumblers, even when they have reason to grumble. Idle sallies pass from the closet to the parlour, from the parlour to the dining-room, and, from the imprudence of speaking before servants, from thence to taverns; and all this

gradually makes an impression upon the people which may become dangerous. Being certain that Joseph I. would be embarrassed in my presence, for not having believed me, I maintained a respectful but easy carriage towards him. He behaved kind to me, and scolded me because I had exposed myself too much. The reply which I made to this amiable reproach may easily be surmised. "You "have," said he to me, "driven the French "from Bavaria and Italy; go and drive "them from the Low Countries. Rest "yourself, and set off on the 26th of March "for several courts, and give the coalition "that aspect which you and I wish it to "have."

(1708.)

On the 31st, I was at Dresden: and I obtained from King Augustus, a promise that he would send me a corps of his troops: I went to Hanover, the Elector promised me one also. I set off for the Hague, where I eagerly embraced Marl-

borough, who had come there for the same purpose. We both of us urged Heinsius and Fagel to assist us, assuring them, that, to prevent the enemy from besieging places, we would gain a battle as soon as possible. I appeased these gentlemen as well as I could, who were discontented because the Emperor had not made peace with the rebels of Hungary, and because he had appropriated to himself the revenues of Naples, of the Milanese, and of Bavaria. I then went to Dusseldorff, to appease, also, the Elector Palatine, who was displeased with Joseph I. respecting the Upper Palatinate. I returned to Hanover with Marlborough, to urge the Elector. I passed through Leipsic, to urge also King Augustus, whom I found there; and, after having given an account at Vienna of my successful negotiations, they sent me immediately to Francfort, to confer with the Elector of Mayence, that of Hanover, and Rechteren, who was minister of Holland. I spread the report that it was merely a journey of health, and that the doctors had prescribed to me the baths of Schlangenbad. And I said, to each

of these petty allies, "It is for your "own interest: a great Emperor would "live at your expense, were you not, "and perhaps would find himself better "off. One is obliged to preserve your "country thus. If you do not protect "yourselves in defending it, take care "that another Louvois does not give the "whole Empire to fire and blood."

I have always taken, as the basis of my politics, the interest of the persons with whom I had to deal, and have detested the flatterers of the court, who say, *These Princes are personally attached to your Majesty.* Thus they fool the self-love of monarchs, who like, besides, to be told—*all goes on well*, or *excellent*, or *is improving*.

Villars was not the dupe of the orders of the faculty for the cure of ills which I had not. He wrote to a prisoner, whom he sent back to me. "If you are in the "army which is about to be commanded "by Prince Eugene, assure him of my "respects. I understand that he is going "to the baths on the 20th of June:

"methinks he was not always so attentive "to his health. We shall soon see what "sort of baths he wished to visit." I assembled my army of Austrians and of allied Germans at Coblentz, where I had a long conference with the Elector of Treves. The French had a hundred thousand men in the Low Countries: Marlborough had only sixty thousand. They ordered me to march to his assistance: I sent my troops by forced marches, and went myself, post, fearing lest they should fight without me. Cadogan waited upon me with his compliments at Maestricht. He told me that the French had surprised Ghent, Bruges, and Plaskendael, and that they had need of me. I went through Brussels, where my interview with my mother, after twenty-five years of separation, was very affecting, but very short; and I found Marlborough encamped at Asch, between Brussels and Alost; and hearing that the enemy had their left on the other side of the Dender, I demanded of Marlborough, when I arrived, if it was not his intention to give battle. "It is

"my intention," he immediately replied, "and I perceive with pleasure, but not "with surprise, that we are both of opin- "ion, that without that, they would cut off "our communication with Brussels: I "wish, however, to wait for your troops." "I would advise you not," I replied, "for "the French will have time to retire."

Vendome wished to dispute the passage of the Dender with us. He said to the Duke of Burgundy, whom bad counsellors had advised to march towards Ghent, "When you shew Prince Eugene any de- "sire to avoid an engagement, he knows "how to force you to it." I saw this sen- tence in the exculpatory letter which he published on his return to Paris.

Cadogan went to Oudenarde, and, in a few hours, he threw a bridge over the Scheldt. "It is yet time enough," said Vendome to the Duke of Burgundy, "to "countermand your march, and to attack, "with those which we have here, that part "of the allied army which has passed the "river." The Duke hesitated, halted on the height of Garves, lost time, wished to

return, sent eight squadrons to dispute the passage, recalled them, and said, "Let "us march to Ghent."—"There is no lon-"ger time for it," said Vendome, "you "cannot do it now; in half an hour "you will have the enemy upon your "hands."—"Why did you stop me "then?" said the Duke. "To attack im-"mediately," he replied. "There is Cado-"gan already master of the village of "Hurne, and six battalions. Let us at "least form ourselves as well as we can." Rantzau began the attack. He routed a column of cavalry, and would have been routed himself, but for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, who, in the charge, had his horse killed under him. Grimaldi commanded a charge to be made too soon and improperly. "What are you about?" said Vendome, riding up to him at full gallop; "you are doing wrong."—"The "Duke of Burgundy ordered it," said he, This latter, vexed at being contradicted, thought only of contradicting others. Vendome wished to charge with the left. "What are you about?" said the Duke of

Burgundy to him; "I forbid you: there "is a ravine and an impassable marsh." We may easily judge of the anger of Vendome, who had passed over it only a moment before. But for this misunderstanding, we should have been beaten perhaps; for our cavalry was more than half an hour in order of battle, before the infantry could join it. It was on this account, that I ordered the village of Hurne to be abandoned, that I might send the battalions to support the squadrons on the right wing. But the Duke of Argyle came up, with all possible speed, at the head of the English infantry, then the Dutch, though much more slowly. "Now," said I to Marlborough, "we are in a state to fight." It was six o'clock in the evening, on the 11th of July; we had three hours of day-light before us. I was on the right, at the head of the Prussians. Some battalions turned their backs, after being attacked with unexampled fury. They rallied, repaired their fault, and we regained the ground which we had lost. The battle now extended along the whole length of the line. The spectacle was a grand

one. It was one sheet of fire. Our artillery did great execution: that of the French, from the uncertainty which reigned in the army, (the consequence of the disunion between the chiefs,) being badly posted, did not do much. Among us it was just the contrary: we loved and esteemed each other: even Marshal Ouverkerk, commanding the Dutch, venerable from his age, and services, obeyed us willingly, and fought wonderfully.

I will give a proof of our perfect harmony. My affairs were going on badly on the right, which I commanded. Marlborough, who perceived it, sent me a reinforcement of eighteen battalions; but for that I should hardly have been able to keep my position. I then advanced, and made the first line give way; but I found, at the head of the second, Vendome on foot, with a pike in his hand, animating his soldiers. He made such a vigorous resistance, that I should never have succeeded, but for Natzmer, at the head of the Prussian gendarmerie, who pierced, broke

the enemy, and made me obtain a complete victory.

Marlborough purchased his more dearly on the left, where he attacked in front, while Ouverkerke dislodged the enemy from the hedges and villages. Nassau, Fries, and Oxenstiern, drove the infantry beyond the defiles, but they were roughly handled by the household troops who came to its assistance. I now returned my obligation to my Lord Duke. I sent Tilly, who, making a great circuit, took these brave household troops in the rear, who were just snatching the victory from us; but then, it was finally decided. The obscurity of night prevented us from pursuing, and suggested to me a scheme for increasing the number of prisoners which we had made. I sent drums to various places, with orders to beat the French retreat; and I posted my French refugee officers, to cry on all sides, *Here, Picardy! here, Champagne! here, Piedmont!* The French soldiers flocked in, and I made a famous harvest; in all, we took seven thousand. The Duke of Burgundy, and his ill advisers, had

retired long before. Vendome collected the wrecks, and took charge of the rear guard.

As they had already began to retreat from each other, as soon as it grew dark, Marlborough waited for day-light to overtake the enemy before they should be able to reach Ghent. His detachment found them soon enough. Vendome had posted his grenadiers to the right and left of the high road, and they routed our cavalry which was pursuing. Vendome thus saved the wreck of the army, which entered Ghent in the greatest confusion with the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri, and the Count of Toulouse: his presence, soothed, consoled, and checked the soldiery.

They all held a council of war, in the tavern called the *Golden Apple*. The advice of the Princes and of their courts was as usual detestable. Vendome was angry, expressed his indignation to them for having thwarted him, and told them, that, resolving to be so no longer, he had ordered the army to encamp behind the canal of Bruges

at Lovendeghem. I pitied him from the bottom of my heart, as I did the Elector of Bavaria in 1704, and the Duke of Orleans in 1706.

As I was certain that Marlborough could not do otherwise than make good arrangements, the day after the battle I went to see my mother again at Brussels. How many tears of tenderness did she shed, in beholding me once more with additional glory. I told her that the part of Marlborough, as well now as at Hochstet, appeared to me much greater.—The joy of vengeance was a little intermingled with that of victory: she was well pleased to see a King humbled who had quitted her in her youth for another woman, and who had exiled her in her old age. What was sufficiently singular was, that, when advanced in years, she married the Duke of Ursel, without taking his name. This is what no one ever knew: it could not be a marriage of conscience nor of convenience, but probably of listlessness and mere vacuity.

We could not help amusing ourselves

a little, upon the former devices of the monarch and his *Place des Victoires*. The fifteen days which I thus passed with her were the most agreeable ones of my whole life. I separated from her with the more sorrow, as it was most probable I should never see her again; but, luckily, she was not told this. During the last day of my abode there, the troops of the Moselle arrived. We were then as strong as the French. I sent eight battalions to reinforce Marlborough, who covered Flanders. I left the rest to cover Brussels, and I rejoined him at the camp of Elchin. He, Ouverkerke, and myself, were of opinion that it would be well to send a large detachment to waste Artois and Picardy, in order to oblige Vendome to quit his camp. Vendome, who penetrated our designs, remained immoveable. I proposed the siege of Lisle. Deputies from the States-General took it in their heads to be of a different opinion. Marlborough concurred with me, and they were obliged to be silent. I was charged with the siege, and Marlborough undertook to cover it from the

army of the Duke of Burgundy. This last had encamped with sixty thousand men near the *Pont-dès-pierres;* and, I with forty thousand, after having invested the city, took up my head-quarters at the Abbey of Loos, on the 13th of August. The brave and skilful Boufflers, with a garrison of sixteen battalions and four regiments of dragoons, prepared a good deal of embarrassment for me. The labour, far from being easy, was dangerous; for Mons did not belong to us. My first attack upon fort Catelen was repulsed. My enterprise, on the same day, to drain off a stagnant pond which incommoded me, succeeded no better. I had bastions constructed, for the firing from the place inconvenienced me so much, that a cannon ball took off the head of the Prince of Orange's *valet de chambre* just as he was handing him his shirt. It was thought that he would be obliged to change his quarter, and remove it further off. I opened the trenches; and, on the 23d, the besieged made a *sortie,* when Betendorff, the lieutenant-general commanding, was

made prisoner. Boufflers treated him remarkably well. The festival of St. Louis, which he celebrated by three general discharges of his whole artillery, cost us some men. On the nights of the 26th and 27th, the besieged made a terrible *sortie;* I captured the post of the mill of St. Andre. Boufflers took it from me again, and I lost six hundred men.

Marlborough sent me word, that Berwick, having reinforced the Duke of Burgundy, the army, which was now a hundred and twenty thousand strong, had marched to the assistance of Lisle. The deputies from the States-General, always interfering, and always dying with fear, demanded of me a reinforcement for him. I repaired to his camp to offer it to him: he said to me, "Let us go together and "reconnoitre the ground between the "Deule and the Marek;" and, after having examined it, he said, "I have no need "of reinforcements: I shall merely ap-"proximate my camp to yours." Vendome proposed not to lose a day in attacking the army of observation, and that of the

siege. "I cannot," said the Duke of Burgundy: "I have sent a courier to my "grandfather, to know if he approves of "it."* Conferences were held at Versailles, and the king sent his blockhead Chamillard to the camp of his grandson. He ascended, with him, the steeple of the village of Sedin, to observe our two armies; and he decided that it would be prudent to renounce giving battle.

I wonder that Vendome did not go mad; any other man, less zealous than he was, would have sent them all to the devil; but he, a much better grandson of the king of France than the other, approached the night before so near to reconnoitre the position of Marlborough, that he was grazed by a cannon ball. I had returned to Marlborough's camp again, to serve him as a volunteer, if he had been attacked.

* In the second volume of Bausset's Life of Fenelon, translated by Mr. Mudford, the reader will find several letters from the Duke of Burgundy to Fenelon, illustrative of various particulars touched upon by Prince Eugene.—*Trans.*

But, (when I think of it again,) a Chamillard, (that is saying every thing,) a young prince without character, and an old king who had lost his, it was enough to fill the heart of Vendome with rage, when they made him retreat, as if he had been beaten. I continued the siege, very certain of not being interrupted; and I took the redoubt of the gate of Flanders, and some others; but, after three hours fighting for one that was more essential, I was driven off, and pursued even to my entrenchments. I did not move much, nor the King of Poland and all my young princes by my side, for I had to set an example and to give orders. I directed two assaults to be made, to facilitate the taking of the covered way: always repulsed, but a horrible carnage. Five thousand English, whom Marlborough sent to recruit my losses, performed wonders, but they were routed. The cries of *Long live the King and Boufflers!* were heard. I said a few words in English to these brave fellows, who rallied around me: I led them into the midst of the fire; but a ball

above the left eye overthrew me, in a state of insensibility. They thought me dead, and I thought so too. They found a tumbrel, on which they conveyed me to my quarters: they despaired of my life, and afterwards of my sight; but neither happened; I returned to myself. The ball had struck me obliquely. This was also a fruitless attack: out of five thousand men, not fifteen hundred returned, and twelve hundred workmen were killed.

Obliged to have my wounds attended to, and to be kept quiet for some time, I left the command of the siege to Marlborough, who resigned his post to Ouverkerke. He succeeded in making a lodgment, *en tenaille*, to the left: but a dreadful mine blew up the attack and the besiegers. Marlborough counter-mined some, and did every thing in his power to save me trouble when I returned. He compelled me to eat in public, to revive the confidence of my army, and then he returned to his.

The Chevalier de Luxembourg eluded me by introducing military stores, of which

the besieged stood in great need; and a captain, called Dubois, by swimming, eluded me also, and carried a note from Boufflers to the Duke of Burgundy, to assure him, that, during forty days that the trenches had been opened, I had not made myself completely master of any one work. "Notwithstanding that, how-"ever," he continued, "I cannot hold out "longer than till the 15th or 20th of Oc-"tober."

I wanted powder. A single letter from Marlborough to his friend Queen Anne, caused it to be sent to me, with fourteen battalions, in the fleet of Vice-Admiral Bings, who landed them at Ostend. Every one is acquainted with the stupidity of Lamotte, who not only suffered this convoy to reach me, but let his whole corps be completely beaten, which was destined to intercept it. Entirely recovered from my wound, I visited, day and night, the works, which Boufflers, also constantly present, every where, repeatedly checked or destroyed.

I took it in my head to give repeated alarms, during several nights, the moon being in her second quarter, and to attack them afterwards in full day; being persuaded that the soldiers, fatigued, would take that time to repose themselves. This succeeded: I caused an assault to be made upon a saliant angle, which succeeded also: I had the covered way attacked, and that succeeded. Afterwards, I made a breach in the curtain, and enlarged one in a bastion; I succeeded: and when, at length, I was working at the descent of the ditch, the Marshal, who had invented some new artifice every day, and had done all that valour and science could effect, demanded to capitulate on the 22d of September.

I made no other conditions than promising to sign whatever ones he might propose to me. "This is to testify to you, "M. le Marshal," I wrote to him, "my "perfect esteem for your person, and I am "sure, that a brave man like you, will "not take advantage of it. I felicitate "you upon your noble defence."

My council of war, whom I assembled from politeness, made some representations to me, touching the article that the citadel should not be attacked on the side of the city. I yielded, having my project in my head, and I wrote to Boufflers. "Some reasons prevent me, *M. le Marshal*, "from signing that article, but I give you "my word and honour to observe it; I hope, "in six weeks, to give you, myself, fresh "proofs of my admiration." Boufflers retired into the citadel, and I entered into the town with Marlborough, the King of Poland, the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. We went in the morning to church, and in the evening to the theatre, and, all matters respecting the capitulation being finished on the 29th of October, I opened the trenches, on the same day, before the citadel.

Before I speak of this siege, let me relate what happened to me during that of the town. A clerk of the post-office wrote to the secretary of General Dopf, to carry two letters to me, one of which came from the Hague, and the other from I know

not where. I opened this letter, and found nothing in it but a piece of greased paper; persuaded, as I am, even yet, that it was a mistake, or some useless piece of information, which I might have read, perhaps, if I had taken the trouble to hold the paper before the fire, I threw it away; it was picked up; and it is said, that a dog, round whose neck they tied it, died twenty-four hours afterwards of poison.

What makes me think that this is not true, is, that at Versailles they are too generous, and at Vienna too devout for such an action.

On the ninth day the besieged made a vigorous *sortie*. The Duke of Brunswick, who repulsed them, received a musquet shot in his head. On the eleventh, a still more vigorous *sortie* by the Chevalier de Luxembourgh, who drove my troops from their trenches, and made us fall back as far as St. Catharine's. One of my best officers of the staff had his head carried off by a cannon ball at my side. The enemy lost many men before they returned

into the citadel. I had every thing repaired.

Suddenly, I was obliged to abandon the siege, the direction of which I left to Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg. The Elector of Bavaria carried on that of Brussels. Marlborough and myself made him raise it, after a smart fight, and some good manœuvres well arranged, of which he had all the honour, for I could not pass the Scheldt where I wished. The Elector of Bavaria was a little ashamed. The French Princes would have been so likewise, if the joy of returning to Versailles had not prevented them.

I returned to the siege, but what a change! The Marshal had availed himself of my absence, to drive away the besiegers from the first covered way that I had left them. After retaking it, as well as the other posts which had been relinquished, I wrote to the brave Boufflers—"The French army has retired, sir, towards "Tournay; the Elector of Bavaria towards "Namur; the Princes towards their re-

" spective courts. Preserve yourself and " your brave garrison, and I will again " sign whatever you shall stipulate."— He replied to me, " There is no imme- " diate necessity: permit me to defend " myself as long as I possibly can: there " still remains enough for me to do, " whereby to merit, still more, the esteem " of a man whom I so greatly respect."— I ordered an assault upon the second co- vered way. The King of France seems to have suspected that I should, for he wrote to the Marshal to surrender; and, not- withstanding his repugnance, he was just about to do it, when, in a note which the Duke of Burgundy had added to the King's letter, he read these words,—" I " have heard, from a certain quarter, that " they mean to make you a prisoner of " war." I know not where he heard it; but this Prince, so amiable in peace, could never help saying and doing foolish things in war. This note, however, made a mo- mentary sensation. Generals and soldiers swore they would rather perish in the breach. Boufflers wept with joy, as I

have been told; and, ready to adopt this resolution, he remembered my note, which weighed more with him than the Duke of Burgundy's; and, after four months of open trenches before the town and citadel, he sent me, on the 8th of December, all the articles which he wished me to sign, and which I did without any restriction. I hastened to pay him a visit, with the Prince of Orange, and truly to do homage to his merit. I embraced him cordially, and accepted an invitation to supper, on condition, I told him, "that it should "be the supper of a famished citadel, to "see what you expected to eat, but for "the express order of the King." They served us with roasted horse flesh: the epicures in my train did not relish this pleasantry much, but they were soon consoled in seeing provisions arrive from the town, by which we had excellent fare.

The next day, I gave him as good a dinner as I could at my abbey, where he came to return my visit. He was quite cheerful and unreserved. We talked of war, politics, and Louis XIV. I was very

circumspect on this last topic; and, speaking only of his great qualities, I begged the Marshal to present my most humble respects to him. I amused myself greatly with the flatteries, on this head, of the Deputies of the States-General, who, thinking to be very subtle, endeavoured, by those means, to dispose him to make peace, which they ardently wished themselves. I never dared be alone with the Marshal, lest they should make *commerages** at our expense, and that one or other of us might be suspected at our courts, where one has always good friends who never sleep. After my testimonies of consideration for this illustrious vanquished general, wherever we were together, at the theatre and in our walks in the streets, where I saw him adored by every one, I had him conducted to Douai, with his brave garrison, attended by a large escort,

* Of this word, which I do not find in the Dict. de l'Academie, nor in any other, I know not the meaning. Others perhaps may; and therefore I prefer to give it in the French, rather than to guess a bad translation of it.—*Trans.*

Commerages, gossiping tales. *Am. Ed.*

and every possible demonstration of honour.

In one of our conversations I said to him, " If you could have been within and " without the place at the same time, " M. le Marechal, and if there had been " no other French princes but M. de Ven- " dome, whom I call thus from love to " Henry IV. I should never have taken " Lisle."

" Do you believe that there is a for- " tune in war?" said he: " in you I see " nothing but skilful combinations."—I replied, " If I have sometimes made such, " it has been because I had bad generals " opposed to me: and that was fortune."— " In my opinion," said the Marshal, " the " only bad luck is, not to have the op- " portunity of doing well; but a con- " quered general is always wrong, except " on some extraordinary occasion, as an " order misunderstood; or the death of " the messenger; and he may then have " some excuse: but there is none for a " general who is surprised or beaten. It " is only the ignorant who make war a

"game of chance; and, in the end, they "are caught. Charles XII. is not one: "but I perceive, from news which I have "received this morning, that, while we "are speaking, he is playing very deep."

I retook Ghent and Bruges; and Marlborough and myself, after having put our troops into winter-quarters, went to pass a month at Brussels: but m mother was no longer there.

(1709.)

On the 9th of January we set off for the Hague. Nothing but honours and feasts; presents for Marlborough and artificial fire-works for myself. But I prevented a magnificent one from taking place, by begging the States-General to give the money to their brave soldiers, whom I had caused to be crippled; and on the 10th of June, I set off for Vienna, to give an account of my proceedings, and to demand instructions.

I received one to make peace, if they would grant me all I wanted. I returned

on the 8th of April to the Hague, where I found the plenipotentiaries of the King of France. Famine, the cold of a winter that was unexampled in severity, and the want of men and money, rendered him desirous of peace; but the conquered forget that they are conquered, as soon as they begin to negotiate. They mistake stubbornness for firmness; and they finish by being still more conquered.

There were a hundred thousand men in the Low Countries, under the orders of Marlborough and mine; and a hundred thousand men under those of Villars. "I "go," said he to the King when he parted, "to drive your enemies so far, that they "shall never see again the shores of the "Scheldt, and to regain by a battle, "when I arrive, every thing that has been "taken from your Majesty."

Without wishing to avoid it, for he was brave in body and mind, he took an extremely advantageous position: that was one of his great talents; he wanted very few things to become a perfect warrior. With reinforcements, which came

to us from all sides, we were stronger than he; but there were no means of attacking him where he was. To oblige him to quit it, we resolved upon the siege of Tournay. The trench was opened on the 7th of July, and the white flag was planted on the 28th; and on the 21st of August, after the most dreadful subterranean war that I ever saw, (for in twenty-six days the besieged sprung thirty-eight mines,) the citadel surrendered. Villars did not move. "Let us go and take "Mons," said I to Marlborough; "perhaps this devil of a man will be tired of "being so prudent." Madame de Maintenon did not think him so prudent as he was, though she loved him much: for she permitted Louis XIV. to send Marshal de Boufflers to his assistance. The enemies of Villars, at Versailles, thought to disgust him by this: but I have already proved that brave men love, understand, and esteem each other. The two Marshals would fain have saved Mons without hazarding a battle: we were upon ceremony with each other, as to who should

oblige the other, by giving battle. As soon as our troops from Tournay were arrived, "Let us lose no time," said I immediately; "and, notwithstanding a hun-" dred and twenty thousand men, woods, " hedges, villages, ditches, holes, triple " entrenchments, and a hundred pieces of " cannon, let us finish the war."

The deputies of Holland and some poor generals exclaimed against this, remonstrated and teazed me. I wished to tell them that the old excellent French soldiers were killed in the six or seven battles Marlborough and I had gained: and though I made, with regard to myself, the reflection that the young ones form but too quickly, (an advantage which they have over every nation,) we decided upon the battle of Malplaquet. On the 11th of September a thick fog which arose concealed our arrangements from the Marshals: we dissipated it at eight o'clock in the morning by a general discharge of artillery. To this military music succeeded that of all the hautboys, drums, fifes, and trumpets, with which I regaled the two

armies. We then saw Villars walking along all the ranks. As they must always speak about the King to the French: "My "friends," said he to them, as I heard, "the King commands me to fight; are you "not all glad?" They immediately shouted, *Long live the King and M. de Villars!* I attacked, without any shouting, the wood of Sars. I rallied the English guards, who, at the commencement, were scattered, some from courage and some from a contrary cause. My German battalions supported them. Notwithstanding this, however, we should have been overthrown but for the Duke of Argyle, who, climbing courageously on the parapet of the entrenchment, rendered me master of the wood. This cost me a ball behind the ear, which induced all those who were about me to advise me, on account of the blood which I lost, to have my wound dressed. "If I am beaten," said I, "it will not be "worth while; and if the French are, I "have time enough."

What better could I have done than to have perished after so much responsibility

as I had taken upon myself on this occasion also? I must be pardoned this digression and personal history; it is human. To endeavour to repair the faults which we have committed, is, I confess, more noble; but to survive one's glory is terrible. My affairs on the right going on well, I wished to decide those of Marlborough's on the left, which went on slowly. It was in vain that the Prince of Orange had planted a standard on the third entrenchment. The Dutch corps were almost all lying on the ground, either killed or wounded. During six hours, Marlborough fought with the centre and the left, without any particular advantage. My cavalry, which I sent to his aid, was routed in the way by the household troops, which last were served the same by a battery which took them in flank. Marlborough, at length, without me, had gained some ground; hence it was easy for me to turn the centre of the French army, which was exposed by the defeat of the wings. Boufflers did for Villars, what I did for Marlborough: and when he saw him fall from his horse dan-

gerously wounded above the knee, and the victory escaping them, he thought only of making the finest retreat in the best possible order. I think it is not over-rating it to say, that the loss of the two armies amounted to forty thousand men: those that had not been killed, died of fatigue. I let the remains of my army repose themselves, interred all I could, and then marched to Mons.

I had only five thousand men. I opened the trench on the 25th of September, and, ready to make an assault on the horn-work of Bertamont, the 22d of October Grimaldi capitulated. Our troops entered into winter quarters, and I obliged to post along the roads without ceasing, went with Marlborough to the Hague, to win over the States-General, upon the point of escaping us. I advised them to say, at the conferences of Gertruydenberg, that they would not hear any talk of peace, unless it were a general one. That it is a good way to continue the war; for, it is an even wager, that out of four or five powers, there will be one whose interest it will be

to have no peace. I was sure of Queen Anne, because I was sure of Marlborough; he seconded me ably. I went to give an account of what I had done to the Emperor. I drew him a hasty sketch of Europe, of whose state I saw that his council had not the smallest idea. I shewed the eager desire which there was in many powers to quit us. We are courageous at a distance. They told me that I had made a fine campaign. I replied, that I had killed more than they could give me, but I would try.

I collected 300,000 florins for my army, which, for a long time, had not been paid; and as many recruits as I could, to reinforce Heister against the rebels of Hungary, whom they had neither the talent to beat, nor the skill to appease. I returned, soon after, into the Low Countries, by Berlin, whither I repaired to descend, on the 1st of April.

(1710.)

Along with my friend the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau. It was necessary to hinder the King of Prussia, who imagined that

the King of Sweden would find him plenty of work, to withdraw his troops from Italy, where the Duke of Savoy, meditating an irruption into Dauphiny, had need of him. Frederick-William promised me. I proved to him, that, since Pultowa, there had been no longer a Charles XII. and that he was the prisoner of his friend the Turks.

I was sorry, for he could not be a Gustavus Adolphus, who made the whole empire tremble; but I wished that Russia should be prevented from aggrandizing herself, and I considered Sweden as a counterpoise for the equilibrium of Europe. The King of Prussia presented me with a handsome sword, and a fine snuff-box, worth 24,000 florins, which was a great deal for a poor and avaricious prince. I went to the Hague on the 5th of April, to meet Marlborough; and, when we arrived in Flanders, we found the lines of the French, extending from Maubege to Ypres, taken by Cumberland. We went to lay siege to Douai.

My baggage, coming from Holland, was taken by a French privateer, near

Anvers: all my plate, strong boxes, and the presents I had received. Louis XIV. sensible, apparently, of all that I had said respectful to him through the Marshal de Boufflers, had every thing returned to me. I gave 500 florins and a gold-mounted sword to the captain of the privateer. I opened the trench on the night of the 5th or 6th of May. Albergotti made a vigorous sortie on the 8th, which greatly deranged me. No commandant ever made so many as he did. Sometimes he even made four in a day.

Villars, recovered from his wounds, arrived from Paris to make us raise the siege. We took up a good position; and, though it was not so strong as that which he had taken at Malplaquet the preceding year, he respected it. So many battles and so many places lost since the commencement of the century, had rendered the French very circumspect, and Villars himself: that is saying every thing. On the 24th of June, Douai surrendered.

I also used circumspection on my part. I wished to take Arras, and then no-

thing would stop me in my progress to Paris: but Villars overthrew my project by an excellent position, where I did not dare to attack him. I consoled myself by taking Bethune. It cost eight days labour. On the 14th of August we had a very pretty advantage. Villars, always courageous personally, even when he could not be so in his army, gave five hundred horse to Broglio, to carry off a quantity of fodder, and marched himself, at the head of fifty squadrons, to support him. Broglio, eager to attack, fell into an ambuscade; and Villars returned very much vexed.

Marlborough had a great desire to attack. I said to him, "I'll lay a wager "that you will not be able: let us go "and reconnoitre."—"Very well," said he to me, after finding it to be so himself, "let us continue taking towns." We opened the trench, on the 16th, before St. Venant, and they capitulated on the 28th.

The siege of Aix did not go on quite so quickly; it was not until the beginning

of November that, after great efforts of valour on both sides, the besiegers carried the covered way. The brave Quebrinta defended himself, notwithstanding, till the 8th. We took up winter quarters. The Hague being the centre of the coalition, which I saw every moment about to separate, I went there again with Marlborough, and I returned to Vienna on the 26th of January.

(1711.)

There I found the Emperor and his ministers still irresolute between their private state and the general interest. "A "halter or a cordon, in a word," said I, to Ragotzi and Caroli. "Finish this "tedious rebellion: you will have a good "opportunity, for the Turks are going "to assist Charles XII. and, unless "Peter I. commits some blunder, he will "occupy them a long time."

They sent to me (I may say to me, as they think the President of War is the Grand Visier) a minister called Zephala

Aga, to assure the Emperor, on their part, that they no longer had any enmity towards him; but that it was against the Russians His Eminence wished to avenge himself, for reasons known to the whole world. Those were his words.

Joseph the Ist. was attacked with the small-pox. There were no good physicians at Vienna; one was procured from Lintz: it came out so full and well, that I thought him saved. I wished to take my leave of him before I set off for the Low Countries: he sent me word, that I had already exposed my life but too much for him, and that he needed it elsewhere, not with the small-pox. I did not insist upon it, and I set off on the 16th of April. Three days afterwards, I heard of his death, from the ignorance of the College of Physicians of Upper and Lower Austria, who disputed all night on the means of remedying a great heat in the bowels, which the Emperor felt. I regretted greatly the loss of this prince, who was only in his thirty-third year; the first, since Charles V. who had any cha-

racter, and who was not superstitious; and I longed to serve him even after his death. I ran to almost all the Electors, to dispose them to secure the Imperial crown to his brother; and I went to solicit the Dutch again to continue their credit in money and in friendship to the King of Spain, Charles II. who became the Emperor Charles VI.

The Protestants did not fail to spread the report that the court of Rome, sometimes humiliated by Joseph I. had bribed the physicians: but we should never believe defamatory libels, or these authors of pretended private anecdotes, with their malignant doubts. For a long time it has been the fashion to make all great personages die of poison.

Tallard, more dangerous in peace than in war; whom I should not have left a prisoner in England, if I thought he would have obtained any interest there, made the Tories triumph, and crushed the Whigs. His assiduity towards Miss Masham, a new favourite of the Queen, in the place of the Dutchess of Marlborough; his address

in society; and his presents of Burgundy and Champagne to Right Honourable Members of Parliament, who were amateurs of it, changed the face of the affairs of Europe; and afterwards, a M. Menager, who was sent there by Louis XIV. The consequences will be seen.

Marlborough played during the rest of his time in the Low Countries. Yet he found means to finish his military career with glory: he forced the lines of the French behind the Senzee, and took the town of Bouchain.

They found a thousand faults in him, the Duchess being disgraced; his pride they converted into insolence; and of his rather too strict economy, they made him a peculator and extortioner. His friends, as may be easily imagined, conducted themselves as such; that is saying every thing. He was recalled, which was a thunderbolt to me. The French assembled on the Rhine; I made Vehlen return from the Low Countries, with a large detachment; and, setting off from the Hague on the 19th of July, I assembled quickly, at Franc-

fort, all the troops I could get together. I took up so good a position in a camp near Mühlberg, that I influenced the election of the Imperial crown, which would have failed if I had received a check. The French did not dare to disturb me. It was a campaign of skill rather than of glory.

Queen Anne threw off all restraint. She had received, coldly, the Dutch ambassador, and prohibited Gallas, the Emperor's, from appearing at court, alleging, as a pretext, some conversation of his respecting her. Charles VI. ordered me to rectify the indiscretions of Gallas, and to regain the cabinet of St. James's.

As a good cousin of Victor Amadeus, I ought to have done as he would have done in my place, exclaim against Marlborough more loudly than any of his enemies, and not have seen him. But, even from calculation, petty minds should sometimes assume a virtue. We see, otherwise, how they wish to succeed. They are despised, and fail in their purpose. Gratitude, esteem, participation in so many military labours, and pity for one in disgrace, made

me throw myself into the arms of Marlborough with emotion. Besides, on such occasions, it is the heart that rules. The people, who followed me wherever I went from the moment I set foot in London, perceived this, and loved me the more for it; the opposition, and the honest individuals of the court, did not esteem me less. In one way or another, every thing was finished for Austria. I caressed a great many persons in place. I made presents, for much may be bought in England. I offered to have Gallas recalled. I presented a memoir upon this subject, and begged the Queen to adopt other determinations at the congress of Utrecht, whither her plenipotentiaries were already gone, in order that the Emperor might be able to send his there. They gave me so vague an answer, that if the court of Vienna had believed me, they would not have relied, at all, upon the feeble succours of the Duke of Ormond, who set off to command the English in the place of Marlborough; and I should not have lost the battle of Denain. This is how it happened. Not-

withstanding the excellent reception from the Queen, who gave me, at my departure, her portrait, I went to tell the States-General that we could reckon only upon them; and passing through Utrecht, to make my observations, I found the tone of the French so changed, so elevated, that I was more certain than ever of what I announced. On my arrival at the Abbey of Anchin, where I had assembled my army, which consisted of more than a hundred thousand men, Ormond came and made me the most flattering promises, and had the goodness to consent that I should pass the Scheldt below Bouchain: But, after feigning to agree to the siege of Quesnoi, he endeavoured, at first, to dissuade me from it: and then, without any hesitation, refused to assist me in it. I said to him, "Very well, sir, I "shall do without your eighteen thousand "men." "I shall conduct them," replied he, "to take possession of Dunkirk, "which the French are to surrender to "me." "I congratulate the two nations," I replied, "upon this operation, which

" will do equal honour to both. Farewell, " sir." He gave orders for all the troops in the pay of England to follow him. Very few obeyed. I had anticipated the blow; and I was sure of the Prince of Anhalt, and the Prince of Hesse Cassel.

On the 30th of July I took Quesnoi. I committed the charge of the siege of Landrecy to the Prince of Anhalt, and I entered the lines which I had made between Marchiennes and Denain. The Dutch had collected immense stores of ammunition for war and for the mouth at Marchiennes. It was in vain that I represented to them it would be better to place them at Quesnoi, which is not more than three leagues from Landrecy, one-tenth the distance of the other place: the economy of these gentlemen opposed it. It was this that made me say with an oath, but good humouredly, one day, (as they tell me) when they were speaking before me of the conquests of Alexander, " that he had no Dutch " deputies in his army." I made twenty of their battalions and ten squadrons

enter the lines under the command of the Earl of Albermarle, and I advanced to Quesnoi with the main body of my army, to watch the motions of Villars. During all these artifices, of which I foresaw, well, that I should be the dupe, and of which Louis XIV. was ignorant, I made him tremble upon his throne. At a very small distance from Versailles, one of my adherents carried off Berenghen, thinking it was the Dauphin; others pillaged Champagne and Lorraine. Growenstein, with two thousand horse, levied contributions every where, spread general consternation and alarm, and assured them that I should soon follow with my whole army. It is asserted that Louis XIV. said on this occasion, "If Landrecy is "taken, I will put myself at the head of "my nobility, and perish rather than see "my kingdom lost." Would he have done it? Would he not have done it? I cannot say. He wished, once, to quit the trench: but they dissuaded him. Formerly they advised the contrary to Hen-

ry IV. he made the sign of the cross, and remained.

Villars, not thinking himself strong enough to attack me, (which was just what I wished) thought to deliver Landrecy in another manner. I have mentioned my vexation at having my magazines at Marchiennes, on which depended the continuation of the siege. Two leagues of extent were too much for the Dutch corps. But for the want of the English corps, they might have been defended. Now was the occasion on which Villars proved his skill, and I committed a sort of error with which I reproached myself: to conceal a movement with his left towards the Scheldt with the greatest secrecy and security possible, he drew my attention, with his right, towards Landrecy, as if he intended to attack the lines of contravallation. Suddenly, he brought this right towards his left, which, during the night had easily placed bridges, as the Scheldt was not broad at this part. These two wings united advanced unknown to Albermarle, who endeavoured, but in vain, to beat those

who had passed with his cavalry. He relied upon me: but I relied upon him. At his first discharge of artillery, I marched to his assistance with a large detachment of dragoons, at full trot, to make them dismount should it be necessary, followed by my infantry, which arrived in quick march. The cowardice of the Dutch rendered my efforts useless. If they had only kept their posts at Denain, for half an hour, I should have arrived in time. I had calculated thus, in the worst extremity, should I be deceived by the manœuvres of Villars.

I found only eight hundred men, and three or four generals drowned in the Scheldt, and all those who had been surprised in the entrenchments killed without any defence. Albermarle, and all the princes and generals in the service of Holland, were made prisoners in striving to rally their troops. They endeavoured to blacken the character of the former to the States-General. I wrote to the pensionary Heinsius. "It would be for me, sir, to "throw the faults or misfortunes of that

" day, upon the Earl of Albermarle, if I " had a single reproach to make to him. " He has conducted himself as a man of " honour, but I defy the most able general " to extricate himself, when his troops, " after a bad discharge, shamefully take " to flight. Your obstinacy, in leaving your " magazines at Marchiennes, is the cause " of all. Assure their Eminences of the " truth of what I have written to you, of " my discontent, and of my deep regret."

I was obliged to raise the siege of Landrecy, and, being obliged to approach Mons for the subsistence of my army, I could not prevent Villars from retaking Douai, Quesnoi, and Bouchain.

I often examine myself with all possible rigour. I think, that if I had put twenty battalions more into the lines, which would have been necessary to guard them, Villars, being stronger than I, would then have beaten me. Out of the lines, posted as I was, I provided for every thing. Could I expect that an hour, more or less, at the most, would decide my glory, the war, and the welfare of France?

The artillery with which the lines were bristled, ought, alone, to have given me time to arrive. But, instead of being well served, it was as basely abandoned as the entrenchments. The two errors which I committed were, not having despised the representations of the deputies on the subject of Marchiennes, and, having confided a post so important to their troops, the flower of whom had perished at Malplaquet.

Unfortunate in Hainault, I prepared every thing for being prosperous in Flanders at the commencement of the next campaign. I terminated the present by sending a detachment to surprise the fort of Kenoque. What a paltry indemnification! But we sometimes work for the Gazette.

It may easily be supposed that I underwent criticisms at Vienna, at London, at the Hague, and in songs at Paris. Here is one which I thought pretty enough, because it contained, in a few words, my history.

EUGENE, entrant en campagne
Assurait, d'un air hautain,
Qu'il irait droit en Champagne

Pour y gourmer de bon vin.
L'Hollandais, pour se voyage,
Fit apporter son fromage
Dans Marchienne et dans Denain ;
Mais Villars, piqué de gloire,
Leur cria, " Messieurs, tout beau !
" Pour vous, c'est assez de boire,
L'eau bourbeuse de l'Escaut."

I went to Utrecht, to consult the looks of the office of negotiations. England, Savoy, Portugal, and Prussia, were ready to sign their treaties; and Holland held only by a thread.

I went to Vienna to give an account of this to the Emperor. The moment I arrived, Charles VII. said to me, " You are " right: Holland has signed also: Zin- " zendorff has informed me of it; and " has sent me the propositions of France " for making peace, to which, I am sure, " you will not advise me at this price." " Your Majesty does me justice," I replied. " We shall obtain the neutrality " of the Low Countries; and, with the " troops which you will send, both from " Naples and Lombardy, we can keep the " French in check upon the Rhine."

I ran through all the states and courts of the Empire, to raise men and money. Our armies were no better paid than usual. I collected 3,000,000 of crowns from one side, and 1,000,000 florins from another. But the tardiness of the princes and circles to march to their quarters, prevented me from anticipating the French on the Upper Rhine. Charles VI. testified a desire to me of commanding his army himself. I shewed him that he could not derive much honour from doing it. I was right enough, seeing well that Villars wished to be at Landau: I had lines thrown up at Etlingen, into which I made one half of my army enter, and I posted the other at Muhlberg, where I hoped that my reinforcements would arrive before the taking of Landau: but the Prince of Wurtemberg was obliged to capitulate.

I hoped, at least, I should be able to hinder the French from attempting the siege of Fribourg. I blocked up all the passes of the mountains. I placed detachments, threw up entrenchments, and made redoubts upon all the principal

points. The inferiority of my forces making me fear that, if I were beaten, the peace, which must, necessarily, soon be concluded, would be detestable, I recalled all my troops, and left only eighteen thousand men, with Aubonne, to defend the passage of the mountains. Villars attacked the heights with his grenadiers. The troops of the circles, which I had placed behind the *abatis*,* did the same as the Dutch at Denain, being routed at the first discharge. The Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti began the attack on the defiles at seven o'clock in the evening, Aubonne, driven back by the runaways, could not rally them, except at so great a distance, that he was unable to return to his entrenchments: he contented himself, therefore, with throwing twelve battalions into Fribourg. After so many battles for thirteen years, the troops of the Empire were themselves nothing but recruits. The best of my entrenchments at Holgraben being forced, there was nothing to stop the march of

* Limbs of trees, and other obstructions in front of an entrenchment.

Villars through the Black Forest, and he opened the trench before Fribourg on the 1st of October. Harsch disputed the ground foot by foot. On the night of the 14th and 15th, the covered way was taken by assault, and one thousand seven hundred men were lost. When the inhabitants saw that Harsch waited, before he surrendered, the assault of the town guard, who were mowed down by bullets, the most aged priest, carrying the holy sacrament, and the magistrate, women, and children, repaired to his quarters. The fire from the ramparts continued as before, and when the breach was large enough to enter by companies, they abandoned the city on the 1st of November, and retired into the castle. They defended themselves, they fought, they wrote, they demanded, they refused, they granted, they prolonged the suspension of arms until the 21st, and then they capitulated.

Adieu the empire! adieu its two bulwarks? was the general exclamation at all the German courts, where they were dying with fear. Why are they incorri-

gible? If the petty ministers, or the great and petty mistresses, had not been bought by France, they might have sent a hundred thousand men to defend, at first, the passage of the Rhine, and then, the fortresses that were made and to be made. There are some very bad Germans in Germany.

These same courts and states of the Empire having thwarted me, in the same manner as they did, some years before, Prince Louis of Baden, I was totally incapable of affording any assistance to these two places. I confess that this gave me a most furious disgust of war, and that I was among the foremost to advise the Emperor to make peace. France had made some prodigious efforts, because her resources are infinite. It is the will of a single head and of a single nation. The Austrian monarchy is composed of five or six, which have different constitutions. What a variety, in culture, in population, and in credit! The title of Emperor does not bring with it a single man nor a kreutzer. He must even negotiate with

his empire that it may not become French; with the Bohemians, that they may not take refuge in Prussia or in Saxony, for fear of becoming soldiers; with his Lombards, ready to become Savoyards; with his Hungarians, ready to become Turks; and with his Flemings, ready to become Dutchmen.

La Houssaie was deputed to try the ground on the part of Louis XIV.; and, on that of Charles VI. Undheim, the minister palatine. The former named Villars to negotiate with me at Rastadt, to which place I was named at the same time. Villars arrived there first, to do the honours of the castle, as he told me, and he came to receive me at the foot of the stairs. Never did two men embrace with more soldier-like sincerity, and, I will venture to say, with more esteem and tenderness. The friendship of our youth, our companionship of arms in Hungary, and at the court of Vienna, when he was ambassador there, interrupted by some brilliant feats of arms on both sides, rendered this interview so affecting, that the

officers and soldiers of our escorts also embraced each other with cordiality. An hour's conversation in my apartment, (whither Villars conducted me,) laid the foundation of the treaty. "I expected," said I to Villars, smiling, "your exorbi-" tant demands, and I regard them as not "actually to take place; for, you will feel "that mine are very reasonable. You "shall send a courier to carry intelli-"gence of my refusal: he will return "with an order to assent to nothing that "I propose to you: your next will bring "you the information that they begin to "hear reason at Versailles, and we shall "sign." All that I had predicted partly happened; and, while waiting for the rest, I said to him, "Permit me, my dear "Marshal, to go, meanwhile, and keep "the carnival at Stutgard, along with the "Duke of Wurtemberg. My body has "need of repose: but, for these two "years past, thanks to you, my mind "needs it still more."—"Very well," "said he; "and I shall go to divert my-"self at Strasbourg, till Contades, whom

" I have sent to the King, brings me back
" some new instructions. And permit
" me, also, to give a ball this evening,
" that it may look as if we were not likely
" to fight these fifteen days. They will
" think our sovereigns the best friends
" in the world, while it will be only their
" ambassadors who are so, if you will
" consent, my lord, that I take this title,
" which is very dear to my heart."

During the time that we remained together, I returned his balls and suppers; but he gave better cheer than I did. Mine was too much in the German fashion: I knew no other. To see us in the evenings together, no one would think we were disputing all the mornings. During the entertainments which he prepared for me, his conversation appeared unusually brilliant and interesting. It was impossible to be more so than his was. We spoke one day upon the difference between our two nations. "Yours," said Villars to me, "ap-
" pears to me to be incapable of much
" excitation, acting only more or less per-
" fectly right, never very bad."—" And
" yours," said I, " is never the same.

"You have two characters: one capable "of discipline, fatigue, and enthusiasm, "when commanded by a Villars, a Ven- "dome, and a Catinat; and another, "such as displayed itself at Blenheim, and "Ramillies, when there was something of "Versailles mingled with your affairs.

"The vivacity, and the spirit of your "Frenchmen, may sometimes be hurtful "to them, because they judge of every "thing, and always too rapidly. For ex- "ample: if I were again engaged with "you, I would dress some of my dra- "goons in the French uniform, who should "cry out in your rear, *We are cut off!* "But after all, with so much valour, and "a man like you, my dear Marshal, you "are very dangerous gentlemen."

"We talk together without any sus- "picion," said he; "like Hannibal and "Scipio, I think.

"What do you think of the Turks? "Are they always such fools as they were "in my time, when I first began, sir, to "admire you?"

"They will never change," said I to him; "but some advantage may be "drawn from them notwithstanding. If "a Pacha, a renegado, or a general of the "allies of the Porte, were to form platoons "in their manner, in the second line in "the intervals of the first, and others in the "third line in the intervals of the second, "and then, also, reserves and their spahis "on the wings, with their cursed yells of "*Allah! Allah!* and their manner of "advancing with fifty men, and a small "flag, they would be invincible."

"You will be angry," said Villars one day, "at what I am now going to tell "you. Do you know the foolish story "which has been circulated at your ex- "pense, concerning the loss of the bat- "tle of Denain?"—"It will amuse me," said I. "Very well; it is said that you "had a mistress at Marchiennes; an Ital- "ian dancer, beautiful as the day, and "she had her quarters there; and you "had troops at this post only for her safety "and your own, when you went to pass the

"night with her." I laughed heartily with him, at this anecdote. "Truly," said I, "I must have taken it very late "into my head to catch this fever of fools, "called love. I had better have had it at "Venice; and at Vienna, in our time. "You had ladies there, if I recollect right-"ly: but it was without loving them, or "being loved, for they attach themselves "to Frenchmen from fashion." "That "often happens to us in France," replied he. "It is a fashion there also; it is even "a trade, when we have nothing else to "do: it is almost indispensible to save our "reputation. Consider what they have said "of M. de Vendome and of Catinat."

I uttered some pleasantries respecting his friend, Madame de Maintenon, and upon the steeple which Chamillard ascended to reconnoitre me; and I made great sport of the Duke of Burgundy, Villeroy, Tallard, Marsin, and La Feuillade. "I was "glad," said I, "to hear that you were "slaughtering the Huguenots and convert-"ing them in the Cevennes, rather than "facing me at Hochstet." I had no diffi-

culty in making him confess that, but for his wound, he would have beaten me at Malplaquet; but he had more difficulty in wishing to prove to me that I had committed no error at Denain.

Perhaps these little flatteries and courtesies served the Emperor to make a favourable postscript in his dispatch to Louis XIV. I insinuated to him, in conversation, that I was not very well acquainted with this Emperor, and that he appeared to me to be extremely headstrong. It was with pleasure that I saw Villars discoursing with some members of the Estates of the Empire. I strongly suspected that he would hear that I had obtained five millions to commence the war, should it be absolutely necessary; and thus we parted.

(1714.)

Contades went like the wind, and returned the same on the 26th of February; new instructions to demand, the council to assemble, change of conditions, discus-

sions, and perhaps some few private couriers which arrived unknown to me; all this was the business of six weeks.

Villars sent Contades to me, to beg that I would believe all that he should tell me on the part of the King, and we both returned quickly to Rastadt. Seeing that there were but few articles different from my propositions, I signed them on the 6th of March.

I could not help laughing at the titles the Emperor took; as for example, King of Corsica, Algiers, Jaen, and the Canaries; Duke of Athens, and of Neopatri; Lord of Tripoli, &c. &c.; on the other hand, his most serene Prince and Lord, Louis XIV; then my titles in abundance, and then, the general of the French army called Villars; and I admired the impertinence of our chanceries. "I shall go to "Vienna," said I to him, "to have our treaty ratified, for I am afraid they will "change some parts, and I shall soon see "you again."

I was enthusiastically received by the court, and by the city, fully tired of the

war. I had princes plenipotentiaries named, to give to the whole every necessary formality, similar to that of his Most Christian Majesty. They met at Baden for that purpose; and Villars and myself went there to sign, once more, the same contract.

We both of us feared, for a moment, that the death of Queen Anne, which happened just at this time, would occasion some alteration; but our subaltern ministers were reasonable enough not to make any representations to us upon that subject.

The only thing that troubled me now was to part with Villars, never more to see him again. "We shall never fight and sign "together again perhaps," said I to him, "but we shall always love and esteem each "other." This brave man was equally afflicted at quitting me, and I set off for Vienna.

(1715.)

The few years of peace that I passed there were more fatiguing to me than those of war. . There were many conferences with the English and Dutch ministers respecting the barrier treaty in the Low Countries ; and many with those of the Emperor, Harrach and Zinzendorf, touching the re-establishment of the finances. They were in an unheard-of state of disorder. I had payed the army when and how I could. A general commandant ought to be also a *Chevalier d'Industrie*.* Sometimes my bills of exchange were protested ; and as they pawn diamonds in Lombardy, so I sometimes pledged whole provinces. At length by degrees, and notwithstanding the misunderstanding between the different heads of the departments, I ameliorated a little the revenues of the state.

When I heard of the death of Louis XIV. I confess that it had the same

* A man who lives by expedients; a sharper.—*Trans.*

effect upon me as seeing a fine old oak uptorn by the roots, and scattered on the earth by a tempest,—he had stood so long! Death, before obliterating strong recollections, recalls them all at the first moment. To history are permitted indulgencies at its outset. That of the reign of this great King will not need them: at present age had clipped the nails of the lion. A regency would give us time to breathe. But something occurred to put us all in motion again.

At the commencement of May I gave an audience to a Turkish ambassador who came to beg that the Emperor would not meddle with the affairs of the Sublime Porte with Venice.

When I look into myself, I dare not decide whether there was not a little self-interest in what I said. Glory is sometimes a hypocrite, which hides itself beneath the cloak of national honour. We imagine insults, we devise injuries, insolence, and evil intentions, and then we cause five hundred thousand men to perish. But, on this occasion, several ministers, and

Guido Stahrenberg himself, who did not love me, was of my opinion. Charles VI. appointed me to the command of a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, of which fifty thousand were separated into two corps.

Charles VI. conferred upon me the general command of the Low Countries. I gave the situation of vice-governor to an Italian called Prié. I think I might have made a better choice.

Now there were fresh wants of money. Kaunitz went through the Empire to raise it; and the Pope granted us a papal letter to levy tithes and extraordinary imposts upon the clergy of all the provinces in our monarchy.

The Turks put Temeswar in a good state of defence, when an incendiary, who set fire to forty houses there, and another at Belgrade, who burned thirty vessels laden with ammunition, made them think that Mahomet disapproved of their war. This moment of superstition was perhaps that of my good fortune,

for Loffelholtz possessed himself of Mitrovitz without any resistance.

The Pacha complained of this act of hostility. Loffelholtz replied that it had been begun on his part by the fire which his *saics* had made upon the Imperial troops as they were descending the Saave. The poor Pacha, who knew nothing of it, perhaps, caused all those who had fired to be impaled, and I chose to consider that as a momentary exacerbation of anger rather than as a reparation.

We are never too well convinced which, of two parties, is wrong at the commencement of a war. They quarrel, they complain, they recriminate, and they go to battle before all can be satisfactorily explained. The Grand Signior wished, but did not dare to arrest the accredited agent of the Emperor, but he sent the grand Vizier with a hundred and twenty thousand men, who, thinking to be very cunning, pretended to march into Dalmatia, and fell back towards Belgrade, with orders not to pass the limits of the two Empires.

After having seen a young Archduke born and die, I set off from Vienna, on the 1st of July, upon a true or false report that the Turks intended to pass the Saavé. Langlet possessed himself of Ratheza. The Sublime Porte sent us a grand manifesto, skilfully enough drawn up to have been done by a Christian, and which was very rational, and apparently sincere: but it was easy for us to prove that they had already impaled a Turkish spy, and that an Hungarian renegado was collecting deserters from all nations to form a corps for the service of the Porte.

On the 27th of July I went to Peterwaradin, and the Grand Vizier to the old entrenchments of Semlin. I had not much trouble in driving him from them; for, having as great a desire to fight as I had, he approached half the way. He was called Hali, and was so inveterately hostile to the Christians, that, after Breuner, who was made prisoner, had redeemed his head at a hundred thousand florins, he still had it cut off, as will be read

hereafter. The favourite of his father-in-law Achmet III. a great intriguer in the Seraglio, ignorant and presumptuous, he was the Villeroy of the Turks. "This "Grand Vizier of the infidels," said he, speaking of me, "is not what he is "thought to be. We shall see; for I "will march to him." In fact, he did pass the Saave. I had him reconnoitred by John Palfy, who had two horses killed under him, and retired in good order, though seventy thousand spahis endeavoured to surround him: but he reached a defile. "This," said I, "is, for once, a "well-planned attack on their part: pre-"cisely such a one as at Carlowitz, where "they made peace seventeen years before." On the 2d of August I passed the Danube. That cloud of spahis, who thought they had obtained some advantage in the great skirmish of which I have spoken, arrived too late to hinder me. They found me encamped behind the old entrenchments; and, as soon as Hali arrived with his janizaries, they wished to besiege me there as usual. Approaches, batteries, paral-

lels, were all planned out and almost finished, in some parts, by day-light. They imitated the Romans, as I have already said, without suspecting it, by entrenching themselves the moment they arrived. On the 5th of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, they saluted me with all their artillery. I had no doubt that this Grand Vizier would commit some blunder or other, and would be embarrassed with his superiority. Not being able to extend his line beyond mine, because of my flanks being well supported, even when marching, he divided his men into small bodies of troops which did not charge. They were perhaps reserves, which his genius suggested, (for he wanted neither that nor courage,) but which were afterwards forgotten. The Prince of Wurtemberg, whom I caused to make the first attack on my left, pierced and penetrated every where. But my right went on badly. The eight columns being forced to separate, in order to pass through the aperture of my entrenchments, and not being able to

deploy because of the proximity of those of the Turks, were badly led. Lanken and Wallenstein, were killed. It was on this occasion, that I again owed the greatest obligations to Bonneval. Every one was killed about him, and he himself was wounded in the belly by a spear. He had only twenty-five men; but he gave me time to send Palfy, with two thousand horse, on the flank of the Janizaries, who were hitherto the conquerors in this attack. We now became so: but it was after five hours fighting. I entered the superb tent of the Grand Vizier Hali; and the almoners of the first regiment of the environs put up aloud, as a thanksgiving to the God of armies, prayers, which were repeated by the soldiers to music, at once military and religious.

I sent from thence Captain Zeil, of my own regiment, to the Emperor, with an account of the battle, which consisted only of five or six lines. It is easy to be modest, when we are happy.

I took care not to pursue the Turks, for they were still stronger than I. They

were cannonaded, in retreating, by the artillery of Peterwaradin. The unfortunate Hali went to die, the next day, at Carlowitz, of two wounds which he received in trying to rally the runaways, at the head of his guards; and it was a few minutes before he expired, that he had the young Breuner massacred, of which I have spoken. "At least," said he, "let not this "dog survive me. Why can I not do the "same to all the Christian dogs!"

On the 25th of August, I pitched my camp before Temeswar, which I invested, and I amused myself in causing the pretty kiosk and garden of the Pacha to be taken, and a mosque, which the Turks preferred to abandon, rather than profane it, said they, by defending it.

On the 1st of September, the trench was opened. I scolded well Prince Emanuel of Portugal, who, not content with being there, pursued a small groupe of Turks, which he happened to see. He had his horse killed, and received a violent contusion in the knee. Happily he was not corrected, but exposed himself ve-

ry much in these two campaigns. On the 9th, the Turks made a paltry sortie, and on the 24th, a reinforcement, which they wished to throw into the place, was well belaboured.

On the 31st, we took by assault, the palanka, on which depended almost the entire fate of the city; but it cost us dear. I lost a great number of officers distinguished in war, and good companions. On the 13th of October, Temeswar capitulated. A few days more of rain, would, perhaps, have made me raise the siege. What fortune! The Turks demanded grace for some *couirouzzers*. I remember that I replied to this article of capitulation, "that those rascals might go where "they chose." This name is any thing but indifferent; it signifies a rebel: and though it is peculiarly applied to those of Hungary, it is well that the soldier should bestow it upon all the enemies of the house of Austria, as if they were its subjects; and consequently, regard them with that contempt, which is felt towards traitors. A mere nothing gives, sometimes, a beneficial tone to an army.

I set off for Vienna: but, on the way, I underwent, at Raab, all the tediousness of the ceremony of blessing the colours, with which it pleased the Pope to decorate me.

The venerable old man, Heister, whom I had made governor after the battle and the siege, where he had also distinguished himself, (being there notwithstanding his great age,) came to receive me at the head of his garrison. The Bishop of Gindor, placed the bonnet on my head. I wrote a fine letter, in Latin, to the Holy Father, and I continued my journey with the Chevalier Rospoli, who had brought me all this, and whom I had received about me as a volunteer. He was killed in a duel, a short time afterwards, about a girl.

(1717.)

No one complained of an enormous tax, but very equitably levied, an imposition, and a contribution which I proposed throughout the whole monarchy, in furnishing it with a means of commerce which no one could have thought of. Charles VI.

ordered all those who might have interfered to let me do it; and it succeeded well. The celebrated Jew, Oppenheim, supplied me, in a very short time, with fresh horses and stores. That cost a little dearly: but I was pressed for time.

Individuals flocked from all sides to serve under me. There were enough to form a squadron of princes and volunteers. Among the former, a Prince of Hesse, two of Bavaria, a Bevern, a Culmbach, one of Wurtemberg, two of Ligne, one of Lichtenstein, of Anhalt-Dessau, the Count of Charolai, the Princes of Dombes, of Marsillac, of Pons, &c. &c.

The Emperor made me a present of a magnificent diamond crucifix, and strongly assured me, that all my victories came, and would come, from God: this was getting rid of gratitude towards me: and I set off for Futack, where I assembled my army towards the end of May.

It was necessary to possess myself of Belgrade, which for three centuries had been so many times taken and retaken. Luckily I did not find there the cordelier,

John de Capistran, who, with the crucifix in his hand, and in the hottest part of the fire during the whole day, defended the place so well: and Hunniade, who commanded there, against Mahomet II. in 1456. Hunniade died of his wounds. The Emperor lost Belgrade; Mahomet lost an eye, and the cordelier was canonized.

Unfortunately the Grand Signior had but too well replaced the wrong-headed Grand Vizier, who had been killed. It was the Pacha of Belgrade, who supplied the vacancy, called Hastchi Ali, who made the most judicious arrangements for the preservation of the place, and caused me a great deal of embarrassment. On the 10th of June, I passed the Danube: my volunteer Princes threw themselves into boats to arrive among the first, and to charge the spahis with some squadrons of Mercy, which had already passed below Panczova, to protect the disembarkation of some, and the bridge constructed for the others, with eighty-four boats. On the 13th, I went, with a large escort, to reconnoitre the place where I wished to pitch my

camp. Twelve hundred spahis, rushed upon us with unequalled fury, and shouting *Allah! Allah!* I know not why one of their officers broke through a squadron which was in front, to find me at the head of the second, where I placed myself from prudential motives, having many orders to give. He missed me, and I was going to obtain satisfaction with my pistol, when a dragoon, at my side, knocked him under his horse. On the same day we had a naval combat, which lasted two hours; and our saics having the advantage, I remained master of the operations on the Danube. On the 20th I continued working at the lines of contravallation, under a dreadful fire from the place. Towards the end of June, I advanced my camp so near Belgrade, that the bullets were constantly flying over my head. A storm destroyed all my bridges: and, but for the courage of a Hessian officer, in a redoubt, I do not know how I should have been able to re-establish the one upon the Saave.

Wishing to take the place on the side next the water, I caused a fort at the mouth

of the Donawitz to be attacked by Mercy, who fell from his horse, in an apoplectic fit. They carried him away, thinking him dead. He was afterwards successfully cured; but, being informed of his accident, I went to replace him, and the fort was taken. The Prince of Dombes narrowly escaped being killed at my side, by a bullet, which made my horse rear. Marcilly was killed, in bravely defending a post which I had charged him to entrench. He demanded succour from Rodolph Heister, who refused him, and who was deservedly killed, as a punishment for his cowardice, by a cannon ball, which reached him behind his *chevaux de frise*. I arrived accidently, at first, with a large escort; I sent for a large detachment: I halted, and completely beat the Janizaries, leaving, indeed, five hundred men killed upon the field, Taxis, Visconti, Suger, &c. The Pacha of Romelia, the best officer of the Mussulmen, lost his life also.

On the 22nd of July, my batteries were finished. I bombarded, burned, and destroyed the place so much, that they would

have capitulated, if they had not heard that the Grand Vizier had arrived at Nissa on the 30th, with two hundred and fifty thousand men.

On the 1st of August, we saw them on the heights which overlooked my camp, extending in a semi-circle, from Krotzka, as far as Dedina. The Mussulmen formed the most beautiful amphitheatre imaginable, very agreeable to look at, excellent for a painter, but hateful to a general. Enclosed between this army, and a fortress which had thirty thousand men in garrison, the Danube on the right, and the Saave on the left, my resolution was formed. I intended to quit my lines and attack them, notwithstanding their advantage of ground: but the fever, which had already raged in my army, did not spare me. Behold me seriously ill, and in my bed, instead of being at the head of my troops, whom I wished to lead the road to honor.

I can easily conceive that this caused a little uneasiness at the court, in the city, and even in my army. It required boldness and good fortune to extricate oneself

from it. The general who might have succeeded me, would, and indeed almost must, have thought that he should be lost if he retreated, and be beaten if he did not retreat. Every day made our situation worse. The numerous artillery of the Turks had arrived on the heights of which I have spoken. We were so bombarded with it, as well as with that from the garrison, that I knew not where to put my tent, for, in going in and out, many of my domestics had been killed. In the small skirmishes, which we often had, with the spahis, my young volunteers did not fail to be among them, discharging their pistols, though cannon balls intermingled also. And one day, d'Esrade, the governor of the Prince of Dombes, had his leg shot off by his side, and one of his pages was killed. All our princes, whom I have enumerated above, distinguished themselves, and loved me like their father.

I had caused the country in the rear of the Grand Vizier's army to be ravaged: but these people, as well as their horses and especially their camels, will live almost

upon nothing. Scarcely an hour passed in which I did not lose a score of men by the dysentry, or by the cannon from the lines, which the infidels advanced more and more every night towards my entrenchments. I was less the besieger than the besieged. My affairs towards the city went on better. A bomb which fell into a magazine of powder completed its destruction, and occasioned the loss of three thousand men.

At length, I recovered from my illness; and, on the 15th of August, notwithstanding the ill advice of persons who were not fond of battles, the matter was fixed. I calculated that listlessness and despair would produce success.

I did not sleep, as Alexander did before the battle of Arbela; but the Turks did, who were no Alexanders: opium and predestination will make philosophers of us. I gave brief and explicit instructions touching whatever might happen. I quitted my entrenchments one hour after midnight: the darkness first, and then a fog, rendered my first undertakings mere

chance. Some of my battalions, on the right wing, fell, unintentionally, while marching, into a part of the Turkish entrenchments. A terrible confusion among them, who never have either advanced posts or spies; and, among us, a similar confusion, which it would be impossible to describe: they fired from the left to the centre, on both sides, without knowing where. The janizaries fled from their entrenchments; I had time to throw into them fascines and gabions, to make a passage for my cavalry who pursued them, I know not how: the fog dispersed and the Turks perceived a dreadful breach. But for my second line, which I ordered to march there immediately, to stop this breach, I should have been lost. I then wished to march in order: impossible! I was better served than I expected. La Colonie, at the head of his Bavarians, rushed forwards and took a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon. I was obliged to do better than I wished. I sustained the Bavarians; and the Turks, after having fled to the heights, lost all

the advantages of their ground. A large troop of their cavalry wished to charge mine, which were too much advanced; a whole regiment was cut in pieces; but two others, who arrived opportunely to their aid, decided the victory. It was then that I received a cut from a sabre: it was, I believe, my thirteenth wound, and probably my last. Every thing was over at eleven o'clock in the morning: Viard, during the battle, retained the garrison of Belgrade, which capitulated the same day. I forgot that there was no Boufflers there: I played the generous man: I granted the honours of war to the garrison, who, not knowing what they meant, did not avail themselves of them. Men, women, and children, chariots and camels, issued forth all at once, pell-mell, by land and by water.

At Vienna, the devotees cried out *a miracle!* those who envied me cried out, good fortune! Charles VI. was, I believe, among the former: and Guido Stahrenberg among the latter. I was well received, as might have been expected.

I have already, on different occasions, instituted an examination into myself. Here is my opinion respecting this victory, in which I have more cause for justification than for glory; my partisans have spoken too favourably of it, and my enemies too severely. They would have had much more reason to propose cutting off my head on this occasion than on that of Zenta, for there I risked nothing. I was certain of conquering: but here, not only I might have been beaten, but totally ruined and lost if a storm, or the enemy's artillery to the left on the shores of the Danube, had destroyed my bridges. I was, indeed, superior in *saics*, and in workmen and artillery-men to protect or repair them: I had a corps also at Semlin.

Could I anticipate the tardiness, or disinclination of the authorities who engaged in this war, where there were so many vices of the interior in administration, and so much ignorance in the chiefs of the civil and commissariat departments? Hence it was that I was in want of every thing necessary to commence the siege,

and to take Belgrade before the arrival of the Grand Vizier, and which hindered me, afterwards, from checking him on the heights: this, however, I should have done (but for my cursed fever) before his artillery arrived. And then, that unlucky dysentery, which put my army into the hospital, or rather into the burying-ground, for each regiment had one behind its camp:—could I anticipate that also? These were the two motives which induced me to attack, and to risk all or nothing, for I was as certainly lost one way as the other. I threw up entrenchments against entrenchments: I knew a little more upon that subject than my comrade the Grand Vizier: and I had plenty of troops in health to guard them. I obliged him for want of provisions, (for, as I have already said, I caused all the country in his rear to be ravaged) to decamp, and consequently Belgrade to surrender. Thus, if this manuscript should be read, give me neither praise, my dear reader, nor blame. After all, I extricated myself, perhaps, as Charles VI. said, his confes-

sor, and the pious souls who trust in God, and who wished me at the Devil, by the protection of the Virgin Mary, for the battle was fought on Assumption Day.

Europe was getting embroiled elsewhere. Some charitable soul advised the Emperor to send me to negotiate at London, reckoning that they might procure, for another, the easy glory of terminating the war.

(1718.)

I was not such a fool as to fall into this snare, and I set off for Hungary at the commencement of June, with a fine sword worth eighty thousand florins which the Emperor had presented to me.

By the bye, talking of friends and enemies, I must say, with regard to my own success, that I was often indebted for it to strangers who served in my armies. Of Frenchmen, I have had Commerci, Vaudemont, Stainville, Rabutin, Erbeville, St. Amour, Dupigny, Montigny,

Corbeille, Bonneval, Langallerie, Castel, Viard, Aubonne, the two Mercys; the Princes of Lorraine, of Croy, la Marche, Hautois, Godrecour, La Colonie, Battè, Faber, Marsiny, Martigny, Langlet, and the Duke of Aremberg, whom I may reckon as strangers being of the Low Countries. All of them had many French officers in their regiments. There were a great number, also, in the two regiments of Francis and Leopold of Lorraine, in mine, in that of my nephew Emanuel, and of the Prince of Portugal. Hamilton, Brown, and the two Wallises, were Irishmen. Of Italians, I had Marcelli, Montecuculli, Veterani, Locatelli, Arragoni, Bagni, Orsel ti, Maffei, Magni, Videlli, Negrelli, Rosa Grana, Porica, Perselli, Cavriani, Strasoldo, &c. and of Spaniards, Vasques Galbes, Cordua, Ahumada, and Alcandet.

I might also reckon as strangers (for they pass as such at Vienna) the Hungarians, among whom I had the two Palfys, Nadasti, Esterhazy, Spleni, Ebergeni, and Baboezai, which proves that there were

many Austrians at the court and few in the army: and hence, almost all my Germans were from the Empire. The heads and eldest sons of families never serve in this country. It was in vain that I endeavoured to introduce the fashion.

The Turks were desirous of making peace, and so was the Emperor. I could have done very well without it, for I confess, that I loved war. All the different courts sent negotiators to Passarowitz. To obtain better conditions, I marched to the Grand Vizier, who had arrived with his army near Nissa. I should have been very successful, for he had only eighty thousand men; and I was well disposed to give him battle, when, a cursed courier came, and brought me the unwelcome tidings that the treaty of peace had been signed on the 21st of July. Among us it was called only a truce, which might be prolonged as long as they pleased, or, which might be broken according to circumstances. It lasted only twenty-five years. It was a cardinal, who ought to

have been the enemy of Mahomet, that saved his empire. Thus politics sport with religion, Alberoni made Spain declare against us.

If I had not been detained in Hungary, by the regulating of quarters, repairing the fortifications at Belgrade, at Orsowa, &c. &c. &c. I should have been present to make the Emperor respected in my government of the Low Countries. Prié had appeased the first insurrection, by calling from Luxembourg the regiment of Dragoons, belonging to Prince Ferdinand de Ligne. There had been a second; they fired on the *Place de Bruxelles*, and, instead of continuing to employ the military, Prié was afraid, because he had been told, that the country people were coming to revenge the death of the townsmen. He ought to have been recalled; but the subtle Italian, suspecting that such would be my advice, repaired his error.

(1719.)

Strengthened with twenty-five thousand men, whom I engaged the Emperor to send into the Low Countries, on account of a third rebellion, (for the citizens of Brussels were endeavouring, daily, to sap the authority of the sovereign,) he had five of the most guilty hung on the 18th of December, and cut off the head of Anniessens, the eldest of the Deans. When his head bounced upon the scaffold, the foolish rebels dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as they did formerly in that of Egmont, and of Hornes: and all was over. Tired of these broils, to which the name of revolt was given, and of the *commerages* of Prié and Bonneval, who, three hundred leagues off, wished to put the sword into my hands, I entreated the Emperor to bestow upon his sister a government, where I had not time to go and enforce authority. Here is what I wrote to Prié during the troubles, which proves that they knew not what they said, when they

supposed that I supported him: "Repre-
"sent to the Flemings, that it is their
"interest to excite the belief that they
"may revolt, in order to be a little atten-
"ded to by the court; but never to do it,
"because they would prove their insignifi-
"cant character, and the insufficiency of
"their means. Represent, that with four
"matches in one corner of a town, they
"would tremble. Represent to the more
"moderate and sensible that nothing can
"be gained by a revolution, for they know
"not what to put in the place of what they
"have destroyed; and, that the worst of
"sovereigns is preferable to the ablest per-
"sons, who may succeed him. Besides,
"ours is too good, with regard to them;
"the dominion of the house of Austria,
"is, by far, the mildest of any. Repre-
"sent to the most respectable, that a re-
"volution, to improve their condition, re-
"quires the commission of crimes which
"are horrible, but, without which, revolts
"are ridiculous and contemptible: and that
"they should distinguish between com-
"manding and obedience: and you, M.

"de Prié, enter your recall, and le Spiel-
"berg: vigour in preventing troubles, and
" rigour in punishing them."

The Emperor made me his Vicar General in Italy, with a salary of a hundred and fifty thousand florins.

Alberoni, our enraged enemy, having been dismissed, and his Philip IV. having acceded to the quadruple alliance, I could now think of my own pleasures. One of them was to build my palace in the suburbs, a little in the Turkish or Arabian fashion, with my four towers, which I very well knew were not consistent with correct architecture; but they recalled a long course of events. It was the place where the Grand Vizier had pitched his tent in 1529, and I constructed my menagerie at Beugeby, in the same form as the camp of the Mufti, with towers where he had tents for prayers.

My maps, my plans, my fine editions of books which I had bought at London, some excellent French works, and Latin and Italian ones well bound, occupied me in arranging; also my cascades, my large

water-spouts, and my superb basins. To return to my towers, with which I have been reproached, I replied to their detractors, "I know, as well as you do, "the five orders of the Grecians, as well "as the seven orders of battle of Vegetius. "I prefer an order of my own, in these "two. I am very well contented."

A sufficiently agreeable period, also, to me, was a Turkish embassy, in which the Grand Signior, sending me two of the most beautiful Arabian horses that I had ever seen, a cymetar, and a turban, conveyed the following message. "The one "is the symbol of thy courage; the other, "of thy genius and of thy wisdom." I love this Oriental compliment, and distrust those of Christians.

(1720.)

This was one of the most tranquil years of my life. It was all devoted to the arts and to society: I did not do much. There were, as there are every where, love in-

trigues and court intrigues; but among the latter none of chamber women, as we had witnessed in France. Our sovereigns, luckily, from a proud quality in their nature, did not vilify themselves by keeping mean company; while, every where else, servants, grooms of the stable, huntsmen, (where they love the chase,) &c. have influence, protect, injure, and are dangerous. Charles VI. to keep them at a distance, used to be dressed by his chamberlains, who, when his shoes were on, made a profound genuflexion, and retired without speaking a word.

They followed my advice in protecting the Protestants against the too rigid Catholics, and the Elector Palatine, to whom, but for that, the King of Prussia, with his hundred thousand men, would have proved that he was the protector of his religion. They punished in spite of me, Nimsch, for having written against me, as they said, and having had a correspondence with Alberoni: but I obtained, at least, a mitigation of his punishment. As I was not even affected with the songs of

Rousseau and DeBonneval, still less should I be with a few bad sentences, or the idle clamours of bad taste.

(1722.)

I had not much to say, and very little to do. Charles VI. displayed his magnificence at the marriage of his niece. I gave many entertainments alsó : and I confess that the military court of my old comrades in arms gave me great pleasure. That of the Emperor was, as it ought to be, more illustrious in rank, but not in merit. Every thing that was brilliant in the Empire was present. But the situation of *La Favorite*, a city-palace in a suburban street, was favourable neither to spectacles nor to dignity. The expenses of clothes, which were always superb, not pleasing me, I often wore my uniform, and some generals imitated me.

I received a great deal of company at home, between dinner and the theatre, because I am of opinion that more business is transacted in a parlour than in a clo-

set. I walked about with some foreign minister, or I sat down, in a corner, with one of our own; and a communicative air made them speak. In revenge, I often beheld the stateliness of others repulse every one; and, hiding their mediocrity under a cloak of gravity and discretion, those gentlemen knew no one; neither public opinion nor private; and, less secret than discreet, they were ignorant of all that passed. It is thus that sovereigns are often deceived, not being diffused through society! There has not been one of the House of Austria who has been depraved, except Philip II. all his life, and once or twice Ferdinand II. Charles VI. was only unfortunate in his choice. His Minister of Finance was a simpleton. I had him dismissed, and appointed, in his place, Gundacker-Stahrenberg, a man of merit. Strattman had a great deal, and much genius. Jorger had judgment, and spoke and wrote very well.

(1723.)

Charles VI. went to be crowned King of Bohemia. Fresh pleasures and fresh ceremonies. Charles VI. had a Spanish air with him; incommunicative, and seldom gave himself the trouble to laugh, though he was sufficiently fond of buffoons. This always happens to persons who are not constitutionally gay. He was good and just.

Leopold had I think, a great deal of mind: but Joseph, who had more than both of them, was amiable, and should have governed alone. I said to him, a short time before his death, "Employ, Sire, "only men of worth; but, if you some-"times find a willing knave, who will un-"dertake the odious part of an intrigue, "and not be ashamed if he be disavow-"ed, use him without esteeming him. The "honour of kingdoms is not quite so de-"licate as that of individuals. Bad faith "and baseness, independently of the hor-"ror which they inspire, are bad policy.

"But cunning and dissimulation are allowable. Go not too far against Rome and the clergy. You do not love France: I can easily conceive that you do not; for, though vanquished by us at present, she has more resources than your Majesty. Should we finish prosperously, notwithstanding the changes that are preparing in England, after having made peace, do not begin again; and never threaten any power without being ready to strike. A young and ambitious King, at the head of that nation, would conquer the earth. Happily, when Louis XIV. was so, he soon returned to dance the *amiable vainqueur* at Versailles, and to hear an opera of his panegyrist Quinault: and now he has not long to live."

Though Joseph was not a bigot, like his successor, he would never have deceived the agents of the company at Ostend; and, with his great character, he would not have bent, as he did, before the maritime powers. He said to me, one day, "Had I been in my father's

"place, I should not have run to Lintz, "when you had entered into our service. "I would not have suffered myself to be "shut up in Vienna, but I should have "been the aid-de-camp of the Duke of "Lorraine at the battle of Vienna. I "know what gentlemen courtiers are. I "have seen them in their true colours "at the siege of Landau. They pretend "to tremble for us, when, in fact, they "tremble for themselves." The harsh and frigid Leopold did not love him, He preferred Charles, his youngest brother, less petulant, and more a Spaniard in every respect: he could not, however, forgive him his taste for pleasure and his irregularities. To be sure he was wrong once, when he belaboured, at a public feast, and before the Emperor and a great deal of company, one of his attendants, who did not serve him properly.

When I did not directly interfere with petty affairs, I was reproached with indolence, sanctioned, as they maliciously said, by so many military labours. If I had entered into every frivolous detail, they

would have accused me with being too minutely attentive. I left them to Koch, Etlet, and Brockhausen, my *referendaires*. They exclaimed against them: that was indifferent to me. I had, on my side, good company, the people, and the soldiers, whom I loved better than a quantity of great lords, with whom I had cause to be discontented, for their insufficiency in war. I upheld these three, said they.—I was not a weathercock, to turn with every wind. They understood me with half a word: and I should have done more injury to affairs by changing them, than I could do good by redressing, perhaps, some trifling abuses, which it is difficult to discover or to hinder.

I read a great deal, and was read to: I had never had much time for it before. I was astonished to find among the Greeks, the Romans, and the French of the first years of Louis XIV. many things which I had done, without suspecting it, and apparently by instinct. I formed the resolution of giving my library to the Emperor after my death; for his had great

need of it, and my neice had not. She preferred playing, and keeping a little court.

(1724.)

I applied myself greatly to the concerns of the interior. I said to the ministers, Can you not contrive to get rid of this army of hirelings, who prevent the money from reaching the pockets of the sovereign? Imagine an equitably-levied capitation, according to the income or the gains of each individual? Provide for the poor and make them work? Consult the English, the Dutch, the bankers, about a good system of finance and of manufactures? Induce Flemings to settle among us for agriculture? To grub up our heaths by the monks or by the soldiers, for whom villages should be built? Borrow from the clergy at two per cent? Dig a bed to the river at Vienna, to carry away the filth and dirt from the esplanade, which poisons the city, and make a fine quay there, planted with four

rows of plantains or acaccias? Join rivers by canals? Mend the roads by the neighbouring landed proprietors, without ruining ourselves with making highways? Double our population by the Huguenots, driven forth by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the emigrants of the empire ill-treated by their petty tyrants of sovereigns?

I said to our generals, Could we not spare the subjects of the Emperor, raise regiments of Turks, Poles, Prussians, Saxons, and Italians, by inducing them to desert, and engaging them when deserted? And make an Hungarian, Bohemian, Austrian, and Walloon army, in which there should be none but officers of the respective nations to excite emulation? Have large garrisons at Vienna, Presbourg, Olmutz, Gratz, Lintz, Brussels, Luxembourg, and Milan? Make an entrenched camp upon each frontier, since fortresses cost too much? Establish and keep up studs, that money may not go out of the kingdom? &c.

They had given a mistress to Charles VI.

the same as to another, the Spanish lady Altheim. To me she was no more than the Italian of former times and the Bathiany of the present: but, as her friend, I said to her, Can you not induce the Emperor to make himself beloved by the Electors and chief princes of the empire, to attract them to Vienna by magnificent spectacles, to give them *Golden Fleeces*, or some other order, (which he can institute,) to their ministers, ensigncies to their bastards, and pensions or pretty recruiting officers to their mistresses?

I said to his confessor, Prevent accusations, cabals, and injustice, merely from not entering into details: let the monks enrich themselves by endowments and by *ex votos*. Permit each convent to support a certain number of invalids.

I said to the Emperor, take care, Sire, that the Prussians do not rise, that the Russians do not consolidate themselves and become acquainted with our affairs, and that France does not attain the preponderance. Your monarchy is a little straggling: but it connects itself, hence, with

the north, the south, and the east. It is also in the centre of Europe. Your Majesty must give them law.

I return to the Spanish lady Altheim. As Charles VI. loved to speak Spanish, he distinguished her; he would have made love with the same gravity that he killed the Master of the Horse, as I have related above. He was sorry, but nothing ever appeared upon his Imperial face.

It might have been wished, that this woman had brought into Austria the gallantry of her country, like the mother of Louis XIV. to whom the court of France was indebted for its politeness, its taste, and its amenity of manners; still, however, a little ferocious, in consequence of those tumults which that nation, as cruel and as inconstant as children, prolonged with so much barbarity. The Germans are incapable of them; but, without gallantry, happily not without love, and though restricted by the devotion of their sovereigns, which renders it more stimulating, they do not amuse themselves the less with

it at Vienna. There are so many handsome women, that it was in vain to seek ugly ones for ladies of the court; they hardly found any; and the intention of their Imperial Majesties, to keep their anti-chambers, and galleries from being dangerous, was never fulfilled.

(1725.)

The congress at Cambrai went on badly: they sent Riperda to Vienna. They referred him to Zinzendorf and me to ask, refuse, and at length to agree; and we signed, on the 1st of May, the treaty between Austria and Spain. I found myself very comfortable in the society of the Duke de Richelieu, the French ambassador, whom Cardinal Fleury had ridiculously recalled for some pretended incantations of the devil in a garden of Leopoldstadt. He was amiable, well made, seducing, and an interesting egotist. By a double stroke of cunning on his part, in politics, and in love, he wished it to be believed, that he had Madame de Bathiany: and,

thinking to be very dexterous, he sometimes played with us at piquet. That amused us greatly. The desire of some striking adventure rendered him, to both of us, every day more agreeable. He had neither the lady, nor the secret. But we were enchanted with his redoubled endeavours to please us.'

(1726.)

From a warrior, a minister, a Grand Vizier, a financier, a postilion, and a negotiator, which I had been, they made me into a merchant. I established the company of Ostend, which the gold and jealousy of the maritime powers afterwards suppressed: and another at Vienna, to traffic, export, and navigate on the Danube, and the Adriatic sea, where I made, of Trieste, a port, capable of containing two squadrons of vessels of war, to escort and protect the merchant ships. I caused, also, some small ports, or, at least, sheltering places to be made on the gulf of Venice.

I was greatly praised for this, throughout the whole kingdom.

(1727.)

I passed the whole of this year in consulting merchants, bankers, and traders; in obtaining them from foreign countries; in writing to England and Holland; in establishing good commercial houses at Ostend, at Anvers, in Spain, Italy, and even Turkey: also at Trieste, and at Vienna. I frustrated the ill calculations of our ministers of finance, who had never studied nor travelled. I obtained consuls, a sort of people not even known among us. I established studs in Hungary, and in Bohemia, that the money might not be sent out of the country, and, I may say, that during ten years, the affairs of the Emperor never had been, and perhaps, never will be again, in so flourishing a condition.

(1728.)

Charles VI. wished to go and examine those of Trieste. I was of the party, and should have been weary enough, but for the Prince Francis of Lorraine, who was extremely amiable, handsome, only twenty years of age, and as gay as the small court of Lorraine. Some pretty ladies of the court, also, who attended the Empress, who was with us, served to shed a charm over the journey, notwithstanding the bigoted severity of that princess.

Charles VI. though the most splendid man of any now living, was infinitely less so than Leopold. He knew how to confer upon his court that lustre which belonged to it: and, with us and our attendants, he had more than fifteen hundred persons in his train. We danced at Gratz. We killed wild goats as we went along; and we were contented with the port and town of Trieste.

(1729.)

To bring my work to perfection, I had many battles yet to fight, with the pious Catholics and the big wigs of the country. The Jesuits are indulgent where they can derive any benefit. They were of great use to me, in obtaining the repeal of the persecutions which were exercised against the Protestants of my fleet, to whom they forbade the exercise of their religion. I had no sailors left, but such as had none, or, who were hypocrites. It was still worse, for, how could I confide in those two classes of people, who feared not God, but feared only the Emperor? The honest merchants and sailors, Swedish, Danish, from Hamburgh, and from Lubeck, returned or remained, thanks to a couple of evangelical ministers, whom I kept on board our vessels.

(1730.)

I had the pleasure, at length, of beholding the first fair at Trieste; and af-

terwards, some labour with the finances, to find money enough for raising thirty-six thousand men, with which number the Emperor wished to augment his army. He was right in keeping himself prepared for all events; that was the only way to maintain peace. But I thought I could perceive that the private interests of some intriguing individuals, or some zealous though narrow-minded persons, would fain have broken it on the first occasion that offered. The French are quick in penetrating into whatever is passing, and hence they are always in a better state of preparation than others.

(1731.)

The Duke of Liria was the Spanish, and Robinson the English Minister. They did not long prevaricate in my tedious conferences with them; and, on the 22d of July, a treaty of defensive alliance was signed between our three courts. I am not fond of long preparations, nor of half

measures. We do not know what is passing in our own courts, while it is very well known in all foreign ones. It is on the first day of opening a campaign that the public should be informed of alliances.

(1732.)

For example: the court of Versailles was not the dupe of the journey to Carlsbad, whither I accompanied the Emperor, who pretended to go there for the benefit of the waters.

It was very evident that an interview was intended. The King of Prussia waited for us at Prague; and, at the very moment when I was dressing to go and pay my respects to him, he entered my room. "No ceremonies," said he: "I "am come to talk with my master." He was a pacific Charles XII. He thought of nothing but military matters; but they consisted only of parades, exercises, short jackets, small hats, and tall men. I was obliged to hear him talk of

all these, of the fine appearance of his troops, and of his economy. I took hold of this, and advised him to amass plenty of money and plenty of men, to defend us, if we should be attacked; for my system was, as has been evident, not so much to make war, as to form a barrier against France, which might deter her from attacking us. Being fonder of friends than allies, who are often very inconvenient, and become a sort of tutors, I simply engaged him not to declare against us: knowing his avarice, I was fearful lest he should be bribed away. I induced Charles VI. to relax a little of his Spanish haughtiness, and to give him, at least, a friendly reception. He prepared for him a splendid entertainment, which cost a great deal. I prevailed upon all the nobility of Bohemia to shew great honours to the King. He would have preferred a field-day to a ball; but that was not our province. I had succeeded too well in grand manœuvres, to care about wheeling to the right and left and the manual exercise. The contrast in dignity and mag-

nificence between our Emperor, in his mantle of gold, and this corporal king, was very amusing. He returned to Potzdam, and we to Vienna.

(1733.)

It was then that I clearly began to perceive the declension of my credit. The King of Poland died in the month of February. Russia proposed to us to assist her in electing his son Augustus III. in opposition to France, who wished to restore Stanislaus to the throne. A great conference at court: very little diversity of opinion; that for war was chiefly among those who never carry it on; such as the ministers, the priests, the women, and the idle of a large city. I said to them one day, in a company where they were making a deal of clamour upon this subject, "I wish that your Excellencies, "and you, ladies, were obliged, each of "you, by the Emperor, to pay four thou-"sand ducats: and you, gentlemen, so "elegant and fine, to march immediately

" with a musquet on your shoulders."—This recalled to me two lines which I read, I know not where, some time ago:

> Et tel, pour soufflet, qui ne se battrait pas,
> A la mort fait courir pour l'honneur des états.

But the national honour, said they, would be compromised if we did not go to war. " I acknowledge this," said I to the ministers, " only when it is maintained " by powerful means: those of France " were never so potent: her finances are in " the best possible state, after twenty years " of peace. We have hardly had ten, since " that of Westphalia, namely during the " space of eighty years. Her minister is " prudent." I did not wish to say, pointedly, that ours was not, but I insinuated as much. " What have we to do with a war " so foreign to the Germanic body? " They will make that reflection, and " will send us no aid. The Russians are " too remote to do it; and before they " could arrive, the Empire and Italy will " be invaded. Remember the instability " of England in my best days: she is

" always ready to be the same. The " voice of mercantile politics is ever to be " heard at the doors of her parliament. " The English, just, noble, upright, and " generous as individuals, are just the con- " trary with regard to their country.

" It is a country of contradiction, " whose constitution is upheld solely by " the ocean, the same as bad faith in " speaking and the desire of shining up- " hold the opposition.

" The pride and the paucity of know- " ledge which are to be found in the accre- " dited agents of the Emperor to foreign " courts, occasion it often to happen that " we can rely upon nothing they communi- " cate, and notwithstanding my conversa- " tions with Liria and Robinson, I will " wager that Spain declares for France, " and that England will be neuter."

Notwithstanding such good reasons as I could allege to prove that France would be glad to find a pretext for going to war with us, and though such bad ones were employed against them, the latter prevailed. They thought, perhaps, that

I should refuse the command of the army, which they offered me from politeness; but they were caught, for I accepted it. With regard to myself, personally speaking, I love war: and I covet in this respect the death of Turenne.

Before I had time to assemble my army, (of which, while waiting for my arrival, the command was given to the Duke de Bevera,) and while I was making all my arrangements in the council of war, what I had predicted took place. On the 28th of October the French seized the fort of Kehl, levied contributions throughout the whole Empire, and invaded the Milanese. Sardinia and Spain declared against us. It was in vain that I almost killed myself in representing to the Empire, that the aggression of France ought to make it declare in our favour: three Electors protested against this declaration, saying, that the invasion did not concern the head of the Empire: that it was only a passage whereby to attack Austria: and that France had promised to render back

all she had taken, as soon as the Emperor should relinquish his predilection for the Elector of Saxony.

(1734.)

Stanislaus being fled, the divan of Constantinople began to take the alarm at the preponderance of Russia. The Grand Vizier, Hali-Bacha, wrote to me, "Nalkiran is dead." (He was so denominated in that country, because of his great strength; the word signifying *breaker of iron on horse-back.*) "Poland has elected one of her powerful nobles. Why does "the Czarina do two things in violation of "the treaties with her neighbours, and "the liberty of a country, in which she "wishes to render the crown hereditary, "and to annul an election? The Sublime Porte is the guarantee, and will not "suffer it."

The influence of Russia, and acrimony against France being predominant at our court, I could not reply to him that I was of the same opinion as the

Sublime Porte. I justified, against my conviction, the Czarina, and among the bad arguments which I used, I said: "That she had entered into Poland only "to put a stop to the murders and trou- "bles of the various parties which agitat- "ed the country. That she, who had elected "Augustus III. in the same camp where "Henry of Valois had been formerly "elected, was more potent than the abet- "tor of Stanislaus, who was too insigni- "ficant a nobleman to be a king, and who "was supported only because he was the "father-in-law of the King of France: "that the son of Augustus II. had been "elected the same as Piaste: that the pri- "mate himself had demanded it: and "that my Emperor hoped that he and his "would concur together to re-establish "peace in the North."

I wrote all that to the Turks, that the Russians might have no opportunity to fight them; for they always pretend to be insulted, and that their *protégés* are oppressed, in order to take a few fortresses from them.

I arrived, on the 25th of April, at Heilbron. I reviewed the army on the 27th, a few leagues from Philipsbourg. I still weep with joy, with tenderness, and with gratitude, when I recollect how I was received there, with repeated cries of *Long live our Father!* and thousands of caps hurled up in the air. My old soldiers of Hungary, Italy, Flanders, and Bavaria, ran to embrace my knees: they surrounded me; they embraced my horse; they completely dismounted me by the eagerness of their caresses. This moment was certainly the happiest of my life; but it was embittered by the reflection that I had only thirty-five thousand men, that the enemy had eighty thousand, and that they declared their intention of marching to Vienna. I entered into the lines of Etlingen; and, as they were made for a hundred thousand men, I did not wish to repeat my affair at Denain. I abandoned them: but I made so many marches and counter-marches, and employed so many stratagems, that I prevented Berwick from penetrating into the interior of the

country. He had nothing else to do, but to lay siege to Philipsbourg. That was what I wished, to gain time. He had his head taken off by a cannon ball, eight days after the opening of the trench. I was jealous, and it was the first time in my life, that I had been so. I was deceived in this project, as well as in that of attacking the French in their lines. I thought I had found a place which was badly fortified, with but little artillery; they had neglected it however only because it was covered by a marsh which they had told me was passable, but which I found impossible to pass: for I went to reconnoitre it myself, as one can never be entirely certain from a report: this is what I have always done, through my whole life. I derived much advantage from it, as well as from always carrying a pencil in my pocket, to write, in the memorandum-book of an officer, the order which I gave him to carry. I had received some reinforcements of Hessians, Hanoverians, and Prussians, among whom, I distinguished the Prince Royal, who appeared to me to promise a great deal,

D'Asfeld surpassed himself. I never saw any thing so strong: for example, his ditches, or *trous de loups* were conical, and superior to those of Condé, at Arras. When I wished to fight, I never assembled a council of war; but, on this occasion, I was sure of finding every one of the same opinion as myself. I wished to pass the Rhine; and afterwards to repass it a little higher up, to attack D' Asfeld. I appointed, for the purpose, three thousand cavalry, and ten thousand Swiss.

This devil of a man thought of every thing, and, at length, took Philipsbourg, notwithstanding my cannonading in his camp, (where I imitated a little the Grand Vizier of Belgrade,) for my batteries and my parapets were raised so as to bear directly upon it; and the water, moreover, was more dreadful than the fire. I reckoned more upon the one, than upon the other; but what a nation, capable of every thing! Richelieu, whom I had known so delicate, so voluptuous, so tender, and the young men of the court, the Duras, the La Vallieres, were metamorphosed. They

wanted only a leader. D'Asfeld was a severe Spartan, and set an excellent example: and, before him, Berwick had done it. They constructed the trenches in boats. They suffered with unheard-of patience. For myself, I had not, in my moral sufferings; but, whoever attacked first, would be beaten; and if I had, the French would march to Vienna; for there was not a single intermediate place; and the Elector of Bavaria, who had some cause of complaint, waited only for that to declare against Austria, whose arrogance or maladdress never procured her friends any where. We should have lost the few that we had. The King of Prussia would soon have set off for Potzdam. There was no longer a Sobieski, to save our capital: I should be confined in the lines which I had constructed in 1705; but, meanwhile, they would have sung at Versailles, and, secretly, in the chapel of some of my enemies at Vienna, the *Te Deum*. They felt, at length, the truth of my reasons against the war: for they saw our inferiority of means, which the factious cavillers could not comprehend.

Philipsbourg being taken, I retired to my former camp of Bruchsal. D'Asfeld wished to besiege Mayence; but I turned him from his design, for I hastened to cover the place. Enough has been said in praise, I think, of my marches to hinder the French from penetrating into Suabia, by the Black Forest. I covered Wurtemberg: and they found me every where, except in a field of battle, where, in truth, I could not be. More fatigued than we were, but able to renovate themselves as often as they pleased, they entered into winter-quarters; and I, innocent in my own estimation, meriting neither the praises nor the blame with which they honoured me, and content with a sort of inferior passive glory, set off for Vienna.

I had left my nephew, (the only remaining part of my branch of the house of Savoy,) ill at Manheim: he died of a fever, as it was said; but I think it was of something else. His loss was something, for he had talents and bravery. He was twenty years of age, already a major-general, but too much the libertine. I have

no objection to this, when carried to a certain extent. I love a rake, but detest a Cato: the latter is almost always bad at musquet shots: but my little Eugene loved bad company and bad friends, and then we are lost.

"What have you gained, Sire," said I to the Emperor, at my first audience, "in this war, which I still advise your "Majesty to terminate as soon as you "can? After those two battles lost in "Italy, your troops are about to be driven "from thence, as they are from Naples "and Sicily. We look for contingencies "from five or six petty allies, who, not "having a penny, sell their petty succours "to your Majesty, and their hearts to "France. The aids which Russia sends "you do not amount to more than four-"teen thousand men, which they will "soon recall; for, (God preserve us from "it!) after having dragged us into this "war, it will plunge your Majesty, per-"haps, into another with the Turks, which "they are even about to commence, as I "think." Charles VI. taciturn, simply

told me to say the same to the council of conference.

I brought all the warlike ones to my opinion. I said to them, while the maritime powers, who desire peace for the equilibrium of Europe, work at that object, I will go and collect all I can; that being the only means to effect its conclusion.

I set off towards the end of April for Heilbron, and I took up my excellent camp of Bruchsal, the same as the year before: but, as the enemy was much stronger than myself, I had nothing else to do but to cover every place, and the country on this side the Rhine.

To render the possession of Philipsbourg useless to him, I turned the course of three small rivers, which, instead of emptying themselves into the Rhine, made me a most noble inundation, from that fortress as far as Etlingen, the lines of which, being thus covered, became totally incapable of any attack.

If I could have issued out, (having nothing more to do with D'Asfeld, who

was succeeded by Coigny,) I should have finished my military career better than by that passive glory, as was the case the preceding year. I rendered it a little active, indeed, by taking Trarbach, and delivering the electorate of Treves; and by having, also, by Sickendorff, a successful and tolerably brilliant action at Clausen, where the dragoons of Ligne and Styrum distinguished themselves. Seeing nothing better to do,—nothing to gain, but a great deal to lose, (as I had already told Charles VI. a hundred times,)—I was very glad, at the first moment, to be recalled to Vienna, strongly suspecting, however, that this was my last campaign. It would be difficult for me to express what I felt when taking leave of my army. It was a very melancholy business I assure you: one must be an old soldier to know what it is to bid an eternal farewell to such brave fellows, whom I had so often led to the path of death, and which I would fain have found for myself, in a happy, brief, and glorious manner! but this was the only felicity that God refused me. With tears in my eyes,

I resigned the command to the Duke of Wurtemburg; and, arriving at Vienna, I was happy to find there La Baume, an agent whom Cardinal Fleury had sent to make some very reasonable proposals.—France had been a little humbled in Poland. Her garrison of fifteen thousand men had retired to Dantzick: the father-in-law hid himself, fled, and had retired nobody knew whither. The Russians and Augustus III. triumphed, as might have been expected. The pacific ministers, availing themselves of this circumstance, and I, availing myself of the desire which Charles VI. had to revive the extinguished house of Austria, by marrying his daughter, Maria Theresa, to Prince Francis of Lorraine, of whom I have already spoken, we were soon unanimous in opinion, and the preliminaries were signed.

The day after the signature, I waited upon the Emperor, to felicitate him in having extricated himself thus from so injudicious a step as this war; exhorting him, at the same time, to take care that Russia did not precipitate him into ano-

ther war with the Turks. I said to him, "Sire, as we grow old, we venture to tell "the truth with greater and greater freedom. "Before commencing, you should ask "yourself, What do I want? what can I "do? You neither want, nor have you it in "your power, to take and keep Viden "and Nissa; but you may lose Belgrade. "The Bosnians and Servians, and the "best of the Asiatics, will be against "you. There will be none against the "Russians but the Tartars and the Ar-"nauts, Greek Christians on the right "bank of the Niester, who, separated by "deserts, will not do them much harm. "But they may do you a great deal, if "they be victorious. One part of your "subjects is of the same religion as they. "There will be acrimony between your "two courts, and distrust and caprice "among the commanders of your two Im-"perial armies.

"There will be no posting, as I did "when I was young, to all the different "courts, to prevent the coalition from "being broken. The Germanic body is

" gained over, either by the gold or by " the seductive arguments of France. " Make an enumeration of your heredi- " tary countries, that each department " may be obliged to have each regiment " constantly complete. For the welfare " of the Hungarians and of yourself, pre- " vent them from revolting, by making " them pay annual taxes and provide re- " cruits. You have no money, but too " many persons employed: have soldiers " instead of counsellors.

" Buy, Sire, the king of Sardinia, " that he may preserve Lombardy for you: " and the maritime powers, that they may " preserve the Low Countries for you: " that is, give them, if it be necessary, one " half of the revenues, that you may re- " ceive the other half without any ex- " pense, and hinder France from ma- " king such great acquisitions. As your " Majesty has lost Philipsbourg, make a " fortress of Lintz, and secure, by force " or otherwise, the Elector of Bavaria, if " France wishes to attack you; and " the Elector of Saxony, in the same

"manner, if the King of Prussia, who "is hourly aggrandizing himself, should "be gained over by Cardinal Fleury, "and threaten Bohemia. Laugh at the "Turks: and I promise your Majes- "ty a reign which will be glorious from "the tranquillity that it will secure to "your states." This is what I wished for this Emperor.

It will be for history to judge whether I have concluded well or ill. I know that since the year 1717, and consequently during eighteen years, I have fought no battles; but that was because I wanted men, money, allies, and credit at the court, (this word I pronounce reluctantly); and, at length, I procured peace to Europe after two tolerable campaigns, in which, if I did not acquire honour, I at least had nothing to reproach myself with.

They say, that during these two campaigns, Guido Stahrenberg, who was naturally of the same party as his cousin Gondacker, exclaimed greatly against me. That recalled to my memory what Villars

said to me at Rastadt: "Our enemies are "not in the field. Yours are at Vienna, "mine at Versailles." What is most amusing is, they pretend that the origin of this hatred arose from a foolish trick, which did not become me, and which was either insolent, or a proof of bad taste. It was long since that I had lost the habit of laughing; and I had even relinquished my French fopperies, that I might better succeed at a more serious court. This is the silly anecdote which I have heard related. During my first campaign in Italy, when I was one day giving a grand dinner to all my generals, I had crackers placed under the chair of Stahrenberg, and, at the moment when he was raising the glass to his mouth to drink the Emperor's health, the trumpets, horns, &c. which accompanied the act, was a signal for the explosion. They thought it was a mine; every one saved himself, except him, under whom was this little volcano. He finished his glass, and placed it tranquilly on the table. Guido, furious, they said, that I should endeavour thus to prove his courage, has never for-

given me. What likelihood was there that I should doubt it? We had known each other since the siege of Vienna, where he was captain and adjutant to his cousin Rudiger. He is six years older than I, and has always shewn the greatest talents and the most undoubted courage, to which I willingly do justice. I seldom see him; and, as I believe he has not much more credit than myself at present, perhaps we may love each other. Old generals, hostile to each other, are like women who are no longer so at a certain age, because they have no longer any sex.

Of all the ministers, Zinzendorff was the one with whom I preferred to discourse. "I will wager," said I to him, "that your Excellency will be of my "opinion. There is no need of political "sentences: the face of Europe changes "like that of a mountain or a plain, by the "accidental influence of light and shade. "They say, such a kingdom is the natu- "ral enemy of another: no such thing: "if they touch, it should be endeavoured "to excite friendship, if not alliance,

" that they may defend themselves against
" the ambition of some more distant
" powers. Why, after the peace of Ras-
" tadt, did we not unite sincerely with
" France? The party which had op-
" posed France in England had been
" overthrown; we should have saved
" many millions of money, and thousands
" of men. When we cannot give the law,
" we should only think how to avoid re-
" ceiving it. But what is it that we call
" the politics of a court, and reasons of
" state? The personal interests of am-
" bition, or the vengeance of a man in
" power. This last motive, Count, for
" instance, in looking into myself, I be-
" lieve has operated a little too much upon
" me as well as the first: and the desire
" of power and wealth gave a little bias to
" Marlborough."

" What do you think of the best go-
" vernments?" said Zinzendorff to me.—
" You will take me for a tyrant," I replied,
" when I say the military government.
" Monsters are rare: a monster king
" would be unjust and cruel only towards

" his friends, and flatterers, but not to-
" wards a provincial gentleman, a citizen,
" or a countryman, whom he would suffer
" to be governed by military laws, which
" are the most perspicuous and the most
" prompt.

" Your Excellency makes an excep-
" tion, but reflect a little on what I am
" now going to say. The soldier is so
" tired of being cruel during war, that he
" ceases to be so in peace. The prime-
" minister, who decides upon both the
" one and the other, should have seen
" service, that he might know what it is.
" He would then hear different arguments,
" as if in a trial, mediations, moderating
" measures, &c. before determining to shed
" so much blood."—" I confess," replied Zinzendorff, " that the Cardinal ministers
" have caused a good deal to be shed, our
" good Fleury excepted, who does not
" care for it. I believe that it is igno-
" rance, and levity, which is always cruel,
" like infancy, which incline our councils
" to war, more than you brave people, who
" dread it for others, wish it for your-

" selves, and yet prevent or retard it as " much as you can."

The other day, the Emperor took me with him to hunt, an unexampled circumstance in Austrian-Spanish etiquette, of which I do not disapprove, however; for it is necessary to conciliate the great, that they may conciliate the small, and establish, thus, a regular gradation of importance. These are nearly the words which I said to him in the carriage. " If your " Majesty wished to recommence the war, " I do not see any great generals to com- " mand your armies. You must wait till, " they spring up. Conigseg is a courtier, " and Nieperg a man of wit, instead of " being two warriors. Khevenhuller is the " best. The first is loved and esteemed, " the second is more amiable, because " he is more witty; he is feared for his " sarcasms, which are very pleasant, and " his sneering: but he possesses an admi- " rable coolness in battle. The third " understands, better, marching, camps, " the organization and the movement of " troops: Hildbourghausen has intrepidity

" but little judgment. As he has mar-
" ried my neice, they think that I am
" concerned in his instruction. They do
" us both too much honour. They call
" him Eugene *the white*, because he is as
" fair as I am dark. I wish that the
" Duke of Lorraine, son-in-law to your
" Majesty, and Prince Charles his brother,
" the one twenty-six and the other twenty-
" two years of age, were more assiduous.
" They have genius and courage, as I
" think, and will make themselves beloved.
" The second will have most talent.—
" Princes of the blood, even with less
" merit than others, have more advanta-
" ges: called, at an early age, to the com-
" mand of armies, they have more vigour,
" and hazard a great deal more. Try
" these, Sire; perhaps they will answer:
" besides, the others do not know more."

I had never before spoken to him so long upon affairs. He loved them as little as his father. It was always a very short audience with him, or councils of conference. I like them well enough, because no one ventures to give an opinion at

which he would blush, that he may not lose the esteem of his neighbour, who is obliged to give in there an account of his department. A sovereign who is not very accessible, is equally secure, by this means, from petty intrigues, calumnies, accusations, and prejudices.

Behold me, now, retired almost from every thing. I play, every evening, at piquet, at Madame de Bathiany's, with Taroca, Windischgratz, and Tessin, the Swedish ambassador. It is rather for the sake of talking, however. We are sure to talk better when we do not say, *Let us talk;* and round a card-table we are more at our ease for it. Besides, the game of commerce is destructive of society. In war, I prefer rather games of chance. At my head quarters, those who gained were gay; those who lost fought the better: that is soon done, and time is more precious than money. I love the society of young people: they are more pure, not being yet spoiled by intrigue. I often see the commander Zinzendorff, a man of great wit and pleasing conversation; Fre-

derich Harrach, also, who added to these a great talent for business. I foresee that he will have important employments; as also, in war, Dhaun and Brown, which they pronounce *Braún* and *Daún*. The former has most merit, the second most courage, and the last most talents for discipline and essential details, without being too minute. Joseph Wenzl-Lichtenstein is also a brave general, a good citizen, and truly a great nobleman. Seckendorff and Schmettau, possessing military qualities, depend a little too much upon circumstances.

The young Cobentzl, who had much wit, often visited Madame Bathiany. One day he said to her, "It is thought, Ma-"dam, that you have married Prince "Eugene."—"I love him too well for "that," replied she: "I would rather "have a bad reputation than deprive him "of his, and thus abuse his seventy-"second year."

Kaunitz, of the same age as Cobentzl, without having his decided character and promptitude in conversation, will have a

quick insight into things. He has just, noble, and profound ideas. I almost love Madame de Strattman as much as my pretended mistress, her sister. "If you "were not religious, and if I were only in "my twenty-fifth year what, might not "happen!" said I one day to Madame Bathiany. "Nothing," she replied. "It "would be just the same as now. I am "religious, first, because I love God, and "believe and hope in him; (it is almost "my only prayer); secondly, because it "is the safeguard of my tranquillity, which "comes to the assistance of my offended "self-love, if I am deserted; and lastly, "that I may laugh at women who have "lovers. I am religious, because I have "neither fear, nor hope, nor desire in this "life; and that the good which I do to "the poor from humanity, may turn to "the benefit of my soul. I am religious, "because they who are wicked fear me, "and are tedious to me. I am religious, "that I may not always have to watch "over my reputation; women, who are "not so, dare not say nor do any thing:

"they are like thieves, who think they "are always beset by the officers of jus- "tice.—But I detest those who make "a pretence of religion, or who are only "so because of the immortality of the "soul. Were mine to perish with me, I "should still endeavour, notwithstanding, "to be good, as I do at present. It is "not so much from the fear of God, as "from gratitude for his benefits, and love "for him, that I am religious, without "making a parade of it, like those ladies "who convert it into a trade, to please "the court rather than to please hea- "ven."

I have been happy in this life: I wish to be so in the next. There are some old dragoons who will pray to heaven for me; and I rely more upon their prayers than upon those of all the old women of the court, or the clergy of the city. The fine simple or loud music of divine service is pleasing to me. The one has something religious in it which affects the soul; the other recalls to me, by the noise of trumpets and kettle-drums, which has so

often led my soldiers to victory, the God of armies, who has prospered our battles; without believing, however, (as I have already said was sometimes asserted at court,) that it was what they called the miracle of the House of Austria. I have hardly had any time to sin; but I have set bad examples, perhaps of scandal, without knowing it, by neglecting the practices of religion, in which, however, I have always believed, and which I know very well. I have sometimes spoken ill of my neighbour, but then I was obliged to do it in saying such a one is a coward—such a one is a rogue. I have sometimes been in a passion; but who could help swearing to see a general or a regiment which did not do its duty, or an adjutant who did not understand an order! I have been too thoughtless as a soldier, and lived as a philosopher. I wish to die a Christian. I have never been fond of boasters, either in war or religion; and perhaps it was from having seen, on the one hand, frivolous impieties, like those of the French which I have mentioned,

and, on the other, Spanish bigotry, that I have always kept myself distant from both. I have often seen death near enough to be familiar with it. But now it is no longer the same thing. I once sought it; now I wait for it; and in waiting I live tranquilly. I look upon the past as upon a delightful dream. I never go to court but on days of ceremony, nor to the theatre but when there is an Italian opera, serious or comic, or a fine *ballet*. If there were a French company, I should go to see *Athalie*, *Esther*, and *Polieucte*. I love the eloquence of the pulpit. When Bourdaloue fills me with fear, Massillon fills me with hope. We were born in the same year, and I knew him at his entrance into life, perfectly amiable. Bossuet astonishes, Fenelon touches, me. I have seen them also in my youth; and Marlborough and I showed every possible honour to the latter, when we took Cambrai. I have forgotten the epigrams of Rousseau, and even his ode to me; but I often read his psalms and his canticles. My memory is still good, you see; and I believe I have for-

gotten nothing but my enemies in this country, whom I pardon with all my heart. A stranger and successful!—that was too much for them. I am tolerably well in health, though my seventy-second year, the fatigues of I know not how many campaigns, and the effects of I know not how many wounds, weigh upon me: the Chevalier Carelli, my physician and friend, gives me a certain remedy to cure, as he says, the radical moisture which he finds a little dried up. I have a great many things yet to do, for the embellishment of my gardens and palace: for example, in the front of that which I inhabit, and where I have employed fifteen hundred workmen, (because it was a time of scarcity, and it did good to the city of Vienna,) I wish to purchase all the grounds to make a fine square, and in the middle, a superb fountain. If I live a little longer, I shall commit to writing all that I can remember, or that comes into my head, which I still find sound enough, though they take care to tell me, that it is a good deal bowed